MARCH 28, 2016

TIME

Apple CEO **Tim Cook** on his fight with the FBI and why he won't back down

BY LEV GROSSMAN

TIME
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Cover Story

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The FBI wants to prevent the next terrorist attack. Silicon Valley wants to protect your privacy. Apple CEO Tim Cook speaks out about his role in the fight

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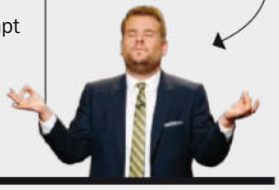

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PUTIN: ITAR-TASS/REUTERS; VAN GOGH: ATENEUM ART MUSEUM; CORDEN: CBS

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The privacy debate

Gibbs and Grossman with Cook, right, at Apple's headquarters

ON THE WALL ABOVE THE COUCH IN TIM COOK'S office at Apple are three black-and-white portraits: Bobby Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr. and Jackie Robinson. They were part of the subversive ad campaign Apple devised at a low point in 1997 to set itself apart from the competition. The slogan was "Think Different"—which is exactly what Cook is now asking us to do. Having conquered the world with his devices, he is now clashing with the U.S. government over privacy, security and the balance of public and private interests.

TIME senior writer Lev Grossman and I went to see Cook in Cupertino, Calif., as Apple faces an immense test: commercial, legal, political, even moral. How can the company refuse to help the FBI break into the phone of one of the San Bernardino terrorists? Does one company really have the right to defy two centuries of American jurisprudence about proper searches and the reach of the law? And what would this mean for the rest of us?

Lev's story explores how Cook sees the stakes of this case and the role he aims to play. Cook's dilemma is shared by other leaders of the new-media world, which is one reason executives from Facebook, Google, Snapchat, LinkedIn and many others have fallen in line to support him. The press barons of the 20th century—Luce, Paley, Chandler, the Sulzbergers, the Grahams—built empires that made vast fortunes but acknowledged a public trust: a free press is essential to a healthy democracy, so editors and publishers weighed their commercial interests with their civic responsibilities. They debated standards of decency and considered whether to withhold information if national security were at stake. They went to court to protect confidential sources—or to publish the Pentagon Papers.

Technology, here as in all things, accelerates and complicates. What are Apple's obligations, or Facebook's, or Twitter's—21st century companies that have built immense platforms, global networks, powerful tools, leveraging immeasurable good but also lubricating criminal networks around the world? This is not just an American question. These are global companies with billions of dollars on the line and a leasehold on territory where there are no maps. In Europe, governments are fighting Google for individuals' right to be "forgotten," to erase their digital footprints. The revelations from Edward Snowden about the extent of U.S. surveillance were even more explosive abroad than at home.

So where should the issues be examined, the competing values weighed? In classrooms, courtrooms, congressional hearings? The stakes keep growing along with the amount of data we all collect and carry with us. We may voluntarily relinquish our privacy when we post a picture of dessert or compare our running times. But giving the government access to that information is something else—and this is exactly the kind of topic that should be addressed in a campaign year. It would be good to hear the candidates explore this intimate, intricate, evolving terrain, though perhaps not with the blunt force favored by Donald Trump, who has called for a blanket boycott of Apple. How much value do candidates place on personal privacy if it competes with the needs of law enforcement?

Sooner or later, these questions will need to be put before the American people, which is one reason that the FBI has made this fight so ferocious and so public. As Lev says, "There's no easy answer: there are some technologies, like encryption, which simply cannot be controlled with legislation. We may have to concede some battles, like the San Bernardino phone, and grant privacy to people who don't deserve it, in order to win the larger war for our information and for our safety."

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

TOP: STEVE DOWLING; GIBBS: PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

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SCAN TO DISCOVER MORE

SINGAPORE AIRLINES
A great way to fly

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

BEHIND THE SCENES President Obama has stepped away from the podium in recent months to engage in informal conversations with writer and producer David Simon *(The Wire),* novelist Marilynne Robinson *(Gilead)* and science educator Bill Nye. In February, White House aides approached TIME about facilitating a conversation between Obama and American Ballet Theatre principal dancer Misty Copeland, both of whom are past TIME 100 honorees. TIME reporter Maya Rhodan, who covers the White House, sat down with them in the Cabinet Room on Feb. 29 for a discussion on race, body image and mentoring. "I wasn't expecting the President to be so candid about his experiences as a father and a husband," says Rhodan. Read more on page 56 in this issue, and watch the video at **time.com/misty**

PODCAST Editor at large Jeffrey Kluger has long brought his insights on science and space to TIME readers—and now there's a new platform for his expertise. The podcast *It's Your Universe* illuminates a different part of the cosmos each week. Tune in at **time.com/podcast**

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In the Brief (March 21), we published the wrong photo with an item on João Santana, a former campaign chief to Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff and the subject of allegations related to a corruption probe. The photo mistakenly showed soccer coach Joel Santana, who is not involved in the probe.

What you said about ...

THE STATE OF THE GOP Readers praised Peter Wehner's March 21 analysis of the Republican Party's path from Reagan to Trump, with George Benninger of Hardwick, N.J., calling it "wonderful and well written." But some objected to the portrait of Reagan—"'Intellectual depth?' [He] was hardly known for that," wrote Michael Ludwig of Media, Pa.—and other aspects of his tenure, like what Jack Kinstlinger of Towson, Md., called a "studied avoidance of the AIDS epidemic." "Trump is not the problem with the GOP," wrote Walter Easton of Honey Brook, Pa. "He is the result of a steady march to the extreme right that has been going on for five decades."

> 'Most consequential Republican since Lincoln? TIME should refresh its memory about a guy named Theodore Roosevelt.'
>
> **TIMOTHY KELLEY,** Eastchester, N.Y.

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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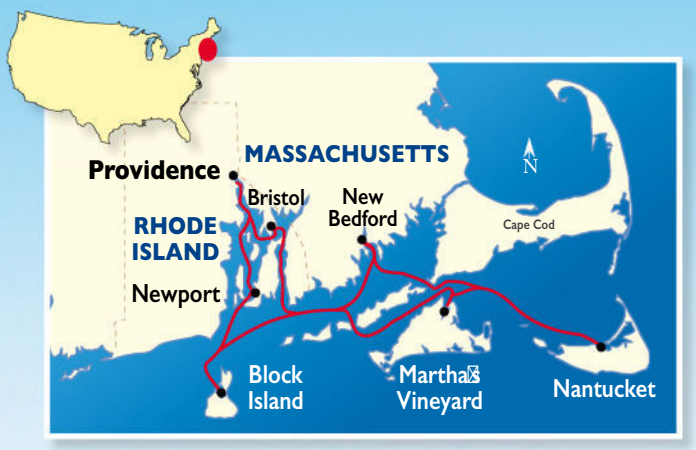

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‘I’M GETTING READY TO RENT A COVERED WAGON.’

JOHN KASICH, Ohio governor, saying he’s moving the focus of his presidential campaign west to states including California after winning his home state’s Republican primary March 15

‘If there is no reason to do so, I will not step down.’

DILMA ROUSSEFF, Brazilian President, rebuffing calls for her resignation following allegations of bribery and corruption; protests against her drew millions of people March 13

Star Wars fans *The Force Awakens* won at Nickelodeon’s Kids’ Choice Awards

GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

Star Trek fans Crowdfunded spin-off movie faced new copyright-infringement complaints

‘THE AMERICANS ARE URGING US DOWN A COURSE THEY WOULD NEVER DREAM OF GOING THEMSELVES.’

BORIS JOHNSON, London mayor, responding to a report that President Obama plans to push the U.K. during an upcoming visit to remain in the European Union

17

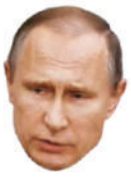
Elephants flown from Swaziland to zoos in the U.S., amid protests from conservationists

13 million

People in the U.S. **who could be displaced by rising sea levels** by 2100, according to new research

‘The effective work of our military allowed the peace process to begin.’

RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN, announcing the withdrawal of most Russian troops from Syria as peace talks aimed at resolving the country’s civil war resumed



$15,000

Cash found in a bag in the middle of a Pennsylvania road by a transit worker

‘Really, I’m not Elena Ferrante.’

MARCELLA MARMO, Naples-based history professor, after Italian writer Marco Santagata suggested that she was the critically acclaimed but secretive novelist, who writes under a pseudonym

SOURCES: CORRIERE DELLA SERRA; RT; THE TELEGRAPH

KASICH, ROUSSEFF: AP; GETTY IMAGES (4); ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'THIS IS WHAT PLAYERS HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR. JUST TELL THE TRUTH.' —PAGE 18

Chief D.C. Circuit Judge Merrick Garland (center) is Obama's third nominee to the Supreme Court

REUTERS

POLITICS

When can Merrick Garland be confirmed? After the election, maybe

By Michael Duffy

MERRICK GARLAND, CHIEF JUDGE OF the D.C. Circuit, had twice made it to the final round of the Supreme Court sweepstakes and twice been sent home empty-handed. Barack Obama considered him in 2009 but wound up picking Sonia Sotomayor. He took a hard look at Garland a year later, but instead tapped Elena Kagan for the job. By the time Justice Antonin Scalia died in February, Garland was thought at age 63 to be too old for a third shot.

So both the President and the judge had something to be grateful for on March 16, when Obama nominated Garland as the 101st Associate Justice. Garland, said Obama, is "widely recognized not only as one of America's sharpest legal minds but someone who brings to his work a spirit of decency, modesty, integrity, evenhandedness and excellence." Choking up as he thanked the President, Garland invoked the spirit of his late father, who taught him about "fair dealing" and "hard work" as a boy growing up in Chicago.

Garland will need both in the weeks and months ahead because it is far from certain how—or even whether—he can be confirmed. Senate Republicans have made it clear that they will not hold hearings on Garland before the presidential election. Their arguments are many, varied and partisan: there is no rush, they say, because the court can continue its work with eight members just fine. They argue that it would be unwise to subject Garland to a brutal nominating process in the middle of an election year. Voters need to pick

PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN ERNST

the next President, they add.

But Republican aides, speaking privately, admit that this calculus changes the minute the election is over. If the GOP loses the Senate to the Democrats this fall and voters choose Hillary Clinton as the next President, GOP leader Mitch McConnell will likely pivot to taking up the nomination in a lame-duck session in November and December, holding hearings and a possible vote on Garland before the end of the year. And even if the Democrats do not take the Senate, a lame-duck confirmation still seems possible. As one Republican consultant who speaks regularly with GOP leaders put it, "They will go ahead and confirm Merrick if they think Hillary would nominate a more liberal judge next year."

Learned, curious and moderate in all things, Garland is easier for Republicans to vote for than some of the other jurists Obama was considering—or that Clinton might prefer. He oversaw the complicated federal investigations in the Unabomber and Oklahoma City bombing cases in the 1990s, which won him allies in the law-enforcement world. He was confirmed as a circuit court judge by a 3-to-1 Senate margin in 1997 and has had a strong ally in Republican Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. Garland has good friends across the political spectrum and on both sides of the current 4-4 Supreme Court divide. He is known at the top law schools for attracting the best legal clerks and even now provides many of the Justices with theirs—but only after they spend a year or two in his chambers a few blocks away.

But if by picking Garland, Obama is offering an olive branch to the Republicans, he is also trying to drain some of the ugliness out of the dysfunctional Supreme Court nominating process. For much of the past 30 years, thanks to both parties, the court has been dragged down repeatedly into partisan politics. Members of the court are tired of it, and Chief Justice John Roberts is keen to depoliticize the nomination process. A judge as moderate and well-regarded as Garland may give Roberts and Obama a rare path through the political wilderness, if not before the election then after it. "It is tempting to make this confirmation process simply an extension of our divided politics," Obama said. "But to go down that path would be wrong. … Our Supreme Court … is supposed to be above politics, it has to be, and it should stay that way."

It may be some time before that comes to pass. Within minutes of Garland's nomination, some Senate Republicans said they would not even meet with the nominee before the election. Democrats vowed to use that refusal as a weapon in the fall campaign; Republicans are betting that, at least for now, delay won't hurt them very much.

—Reported by MASSIMO CALABRESI *and* JAY NEWTON-SMALL/WASHINGTON

A five-point guide to Garland

1 SCHOOL
He graduated summa cum laude from Harvard in 1974 and magna cum laude from Harvard Law in 1977.

2 FAMILY AND FAITH
He and his wife Lynn have two daughters. He is also Jewish, which would make him the fourth Jewish Justice on the current court.

3 EARLY CAREER
After graduating from law school, he clerked for Supreme Court Justice William Brennan Jr.

4 MID CAREER
In 1989, he left his private firm to become a federal prosecutor, working to reduce gang violence.

5 COURT CONNECTIONS
He is reportedly close to Chief Justice John Roberts, who was also a judge on the D.C. Circuit.

TRENDING

BUSINESS
Lawyers **filed suit against Volkswagen** on March 14 on behalf of 278 institutional investors seeking $3.67 billion in damages over the sharp decline in the German automaker's share price after it admitted to systematic cheating on U.S. emissions tests.

POLITICS
Burma's parliament elected Htin Kyaw to be the **country's first civilian President in over 50 years** on March 15. The longtime aide to National League for Democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi is expected to act as her proxy, as she is constitutionally barred from the presidency.

HEALTH
The percentage of female breast-cancer patients removing a healthy breast after their diagnosis **tripled from 2002 to 2012,** according to a study in the *Annals of Surgery,* and it "really made no difference in terms of overall outcome and survival," said study author Mehra Golshan.

GARLAND: BUSINESS: HEALTH: GETTY IMAGES; POLITICS: EPA; CUBA: ALEJANDRO ERNESTO—EPA

DIPLOMACY

Obama aims to nudge change along with historic Cuba visit

BARACK OBAMA WAS DUE TO BECOME THE FIRST sitting U.S. President in 88 years to visit Cuba on March 20, meeting Cuban President Raúl Castro and taking in an exhibition baseball game. The White House eased major restrictions ahead of Obama's visit, signaling that the U.S. is ready to engage with the island nation after years of détente. But obstacles still remain:

WARMER WELCOME The White House loosening of limits effectively permits Americans to visit Cuba without prior approval and makes it easier for U.S. companies to do business there. Marriott, Carnival and American Airlines are among the firms now applying to operate in Cuba's burgeoning tourism industry, worth roughly $2.7 billion last year.

SLOW PROGRESS Castro has moved haltingly in easing limits on Cubans working for U.S. firms, and Obama has acknowledged that full relations cannot resume until the U.S. Congress lifts the five-decades-old embargo on trade. Senate Republicans have suggested the embargo will be lifted only when Cuba improves its human-rights record.

The thaw in U.S.-Cuba relations began in December 2014

WORK TO DO Cuban authorities detained 1,414 dissidents in January, and critics say Obama is propping up a regime that is unwilling to make reforms. The U.S. President was expected to meet with anti-Castro activists during his two-day visit, but the challenge remains moving change beyond the symbolic. —JULIA ZORTHIAN

BLOOD AND SAND One of the dead in a mass shooting claimed by al-Qaeda's North African branch is laid out on the sands of Grand-Bassam, Ivory Coast, on March 13. Gunmen reportedly drank beer in a beachfront bar before killing at least 18 people in the resort town in the country's first recorded attack by al-Qaeda. *Photograph by Luc Gnago—Reuters*

DATA

GROCERIES AROUND THE GLOBE

Using data from the Economist Intelligence Unit's Cost of Living survey, here's a sample of how much a basket of grocery essentials costs in the world's priciest capitals:

$99.44
Seoul

$78.84
Singapore

$71.20
New York City

$59.82
Paris

$51.75
London

TRENDING

ENERGY
On March 15, the Obama Administration **reversed a 2015 proposal to allow oil and gas drilling in the Atlantic,** off the U.S.'s southeastern coast, partly on the basis of strong local opposition. Four months earlier, Obama rejected another oil project, the Keystone XL pipeline.

COURTS
Norwegian mass murderer Anders Behring Breivik, who killed 77 people in 2011, **is suing the state** on the grounds that his solitary confinement—in a three-room suite with a PlayStation, television and treadmill—violates his human rights.

PARENTING
On March 13, Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe **announced the creation of 500,000 new day-care slots by the end of 2017** in response to a blog post in which a mother claimed she would have to leave her job to care for her child. The post went viral, sparking protests and petitions.

THE RISK REPORT

Putin's wily Syria tactics pay off

By Ian Bremmer

THE DEBATE WILL CONTINUE FOR SOME time on what Vladimir Putin has actually done in Syria. Russia announced on March 14 that it was withdrawing its few thousand troops serving in Syria, but Putin will keep the naval base that Russia leases at Tartus, Moscow's only direct access to the Mediterranean and the only Russian naval base not on former Soviet territory. He will keep access to a Syrian air base and maintain air-defense systems to protect both, and Russia reserves the right to drop more bombs as Moscow deems necessary. The moves are shrewd. Putin is declaring mission accomplished and reducing Russia's risks.

Putin had several goals in Syria. He wanted to re-establish Russia as a fully independent power broker outside its immediate sphere of influence, as a country not to be taken lightly. He also wanted to change the subject from a conflict in Ukraine that has isolated his country and moved the West to impose sanctions. He hoped to convince Europeans that by taking action in Syria, Russia could help manage the crisis that has flooded Europe with refugees. Both sides might benefit. The Russian government draws half its revenue from the sale of oil and gas, and oil prices will almost certainly remain low for some time. If Russia could help Europe by stabilizing Syria, Putin probably reasoned, the E.U. might lift sanctions, helping Russia manage its oil-price problem.

Putin also wanted to remind his ally, Syria's President Bashar Assad, that Syria needs Russia much more than Russia needs Syria. He accomplished that objective first by demonstrating that Russia can strengthen Assad's position—and then by withdrawing that help with little warning.

> Putin isn't always a master strategist, but he's proved again that he can be a brilliant tactician

There are other reasons for the pullout. Putin can now shrug off Washington's warnings that Russia would become trapped in a quagmire. And by theatrically exiting on Day One of renewed Syrian peace talks, Putin presents himself as a peacemaker. He isn't always a master strategist, but he's proved again that he can be a brilliant tactician.

By itself, Russia's announcement can't bring peace to Syria. Negotiators in Geneva are doing their best to stabilize this tragic country, but the Americans, Europeans, Russians, Saudis, Iranians, Turks and various Syrian groups remain at odds over what a future Syria might look like—and ISIS has no reason to stop shooting.

Putin knows that Syria will never again be governed as a single country. That doesn't matter to Russia, which will keep access to air and naval bases, and Putin got out before the costs of the conflict could become prohibitive. Putin has recast himself again, this time as a self-confident and independent actor—and one the West can still do business with. ◻

BRIEF HISTORY

Machines beating mankind

In a milestone for AI, a Google program beat South Korean grand master Lee Sedol at the strategy game Go *(left)* on March 15. But machines have been mastering board games since the 1970s. —*Tara John*

BACKGAMMON
A program called BKG 9.8 became the first to defeat a human in a board game in 1979 when it beat then world champion Luigi Villa in a 7-1 match. Its creator said the victory was due to luck.

CHECKERS
Chinook became the first program to win a world championship against humans in 1994 when opponent Marion Tinsley withdrew because of illness. The program retained its title a year later.

CHESS
IBM's Deep Blue computer defeated grand master Garry Kasparov in a highly publicized 1997 tournament. The Russian won the first game, drew in the next three and forfeited his last after 19 moves.

GETTY IMAGES (4)

The first school to train disaster search dogs is nearly finished. But we need your help to complete our National Training Center. Right now, every single dollar you donate will be doubled thanks to a generous grant. Help us train rescued dogs to be rescuers, so when disaster strikes no one is left behind.
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Milestones

DIED

Keith Emerson, 70, progressive-rock star, keyboardist and co-founder of Emerson, Lake & Palmer, a British band that released six platinum albums in the '70s. Among his well-known songs: "Lucky Man" and the 30-minute-long "Karn Evil 9."

› **Michael White,** 80, film and theater impresario famous for producing *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* and *The Rocky Horror Picture Show.*

› **Lloyd Shapley,** 92, a 2012 Nobel laureate known as a father of game theory. He also mentored the troubled mathematician John Nash, subject of the 2002 movie *A Beautiful Mind.*

ANNOUNCED

The retirement of NASA astronaut **Scott Kelly,** who spent a total of 520 days in space, including a yearlong stint aboard the International Space Station.

SIGNED

By Governor Kate Brown, a bill that makes Oregon the first state to **remove coal from its energy supply.** Under the new law, coal would be phased out through 2030.

NFL linebacker Junior Seau, who after his suicide was found to have CTE

ADMITTED

The NFL *A link between football and brain trauma*

WHEN HARRY CARSON, A HALL OF FAME linebacker for the New York Giants, heard that an NFL official had acknowledged, for the first time, a link between football and the degenerative brain disease chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), he felt vindicated. Carson, who was diagnosed with postconcussion syndrome in 1990, has long argued that football contributed to his condition. "This is what players have been waiting for," he says. "Just tell the truth."

The truth hurts. A Boston University neuropathologist who examined the brains of 94 ex–NFL players found 90 showed signs of CTE. Asked at a congressional hearing on March 14 whether there's a link between football and brain diseases like CTE, Jeff Miller, NFL executive vice president of health and safety policy, could no longer punt the question away. "The answer to that question is certainly yes." Admitting the obvious is easy. Now the NFL can tackle the real challenge: making football safer. —SEAN GREGORY

POLITICS

Big Money's tiny impact on the presidential campaign

THIS WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A GREAT YEAR TO BUY an election. Thanks to recent court rulings, after all, billionaires are allowed to spend freely to elect their chosen candidate. But so far, money has not seemed to matter. As the numbers reveal, there is little correlation between independent ad spending (which often comes from super PACs and special-interest groups) and primary results, especially for Donald Trump. —MICHAEL SCHERER

PRIMARY AND CAUCUS WINS		MONEY FOR ($ IN MILLIONS)	MONEY AGAINST ($ IN MILLIONS)
TRUMP 18		$0.23	$35.7
CLINTON 18		9.3	3.3
SANDERS 9		2.2	0.06
CRUZ 8		13.8	7.2
RUBIO 3		39.7	8.3
KASICH 1		12.9	2.8
BUSH 0		78.4	3.2
CHRISTIE 0		17.9	3.6
CARSON 0		3.7	0.01

SOURCE: CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS

NFL: DAMIAN STROHMEYER—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED; TRUMP, CRUZ, BUSH: GETTY IMAGES; CLINTON, SANDERS, CHRISTIE: AP; RUBIO, KASICH: EPA; CARSON: REUTERS

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GADGETS

To go mainstream, drones are getting better at avoiding crashes

By Lisa Eadicicco

PERSONAL DRONES ARE ALREADY SMART ENOUGH TO FLY THEMSELVES AND follow moving subjects. Their next feat: sensing obstacles to avoid collisions.

Sales of consumer drones have grown from nearly nothing several years ago to $1.6 billion globally, according to research firm Gartner. But most models are aimed at enthusiasts with some previous flying experience. To reach the mainstream, manufacturers say, keeping a drone in the air has to be as easy as working a smartphone.

In early March, DJI, which makes the industry's most popular model, began selling the first consumer drone that can detect and dodge obstructions. Chip giant Intel's technology will bring similar capabilities to some models later this year. And startup Skydio, which recently raised $25 million in funding, makes software aimed at preventing drone crashes. "These systems, as they become safer and more aware of their environment, will get more intelligent," says Anil Nanduri, vice president of Intel's New Technology Group.

DJI equips its copter with two technologies to make this possible: vision and machine learning. The former consists of multiple cameras, while the latter lets drones learn new concepts, like what a person looks like, with little human input. Making all this affordable is the biggest challenge, according to Paul Pan, a DJI senior product manager.

Safety measures are key as the Federal Aviation Administration mulls rules for public drone use. The FAA requires that drones weighing 0.55 lb. to 55 lb. be registered online in order to be flown outdoors. Nearly 300,000 were registered as of January. Here's a look at some of the newest models.

	DJI PHANTOM 4	YUNEEC TYPHOON Q500 4K	3D ROBOTICS SOLO	PARROT BEBOP 2
Cost	$1,399	$899.99	$999.95	$549.99 ($799.99 with controller)
Flight time	28 minutes	25 minutes	20–25 minutes	25 minutes
Camera	4K video, 12-megapixel photos	4K video, 12-megapixel photos	Not included, but works with GoPro models	High-definition video, 14-megapixel photos
Special features	Avoids obstacles; can follow, film and track you even when you're not holding the controller; flies autonomously	Can follow and track you, as well as fly back to you, when you're holding the controller; programmed to stay out of no-fly zones	Can stream HD video from attached GoPro; follows you with GPS; flies autonomously; includes preset camera maneuvers	Fish-eye lens; flies autonomously with in-app purchase

PARROT; 3D ROBOTICS; YUNEEC; DJI

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Galaxy Note5

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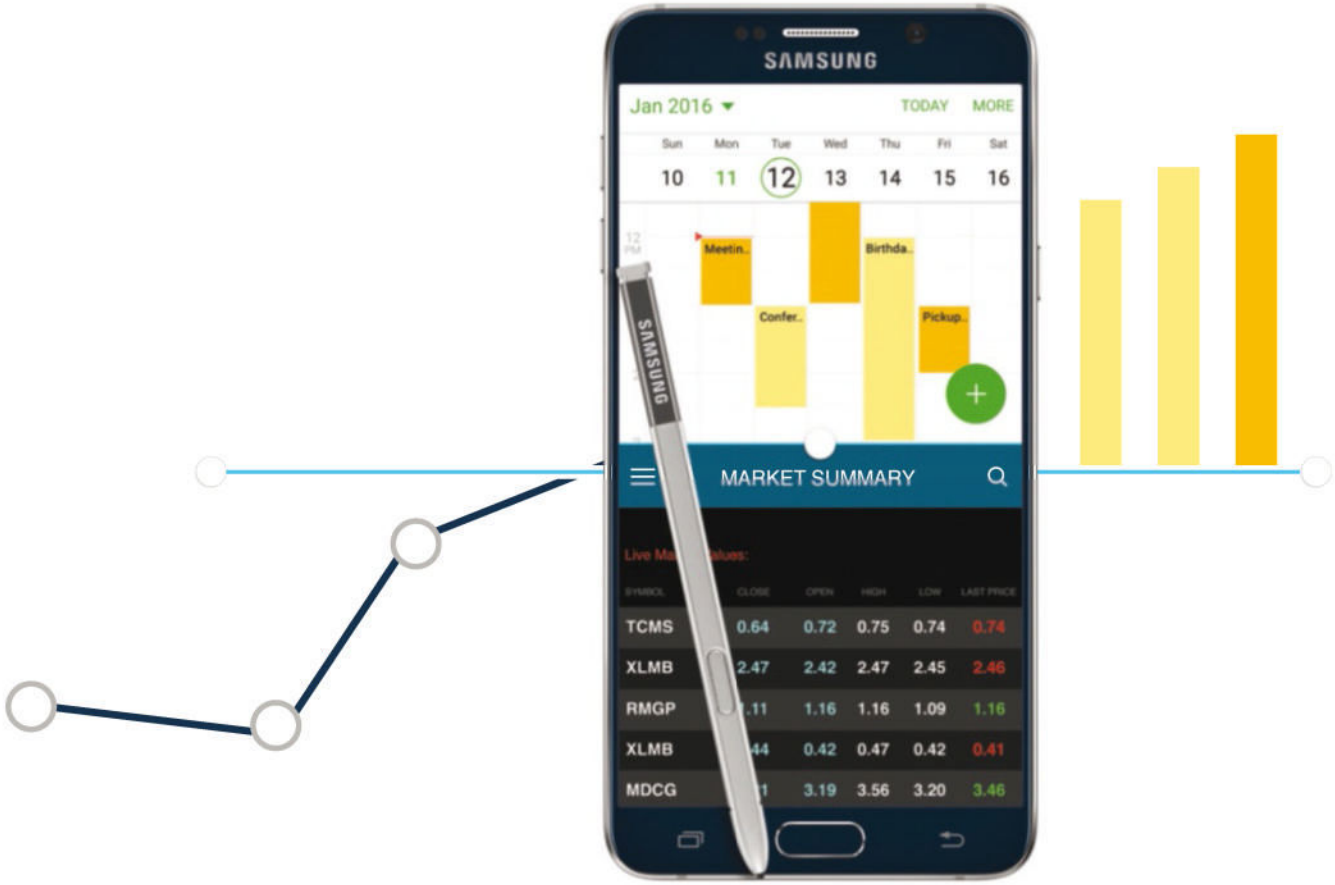

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GREECE

Refugees brave the waters in search of asylum in Europe

THE RIVER AT THE NORTHERN edge of Greece wasn't deep, but it was swift enough to drag a person down into its currents. So Amal Mesaid, a refugee from the Syrian city of Dara'a, held her three young children close as they stood on the bank. Around them, hundreds of refugees were fording the river on foot as they tried to make their way into Macedonia—and, they hoped, onward to asylum in Germany.

All of them would fail in the attempt, which was among the most desperate of Europe's refugee crisis. Since the nations to the north of Greece essentially shut their borders to migrants at the end of February, more than 10,000 of them have been stuck at the muddy camp of Idomeni, living in makeshift tents. On March 14, about a thousand refugees stopped waiting and marched for about four hours toward a stretch of the border where there was no fence to block their way.

The Macedonian military was waiting for them there. Soldiers apprehended the refugees as they walked across the border and, by morning, had sent them back to Greece. But that isn't likely to stop them. "We have nothing to go back to," Mesaid said after wading across the river. "I'm sorry, but we have no choice but to move ahead however we can." Clutching her hand, her youngest child, 4-year-old Fida, was shivering as he wept. But at least for the moment, they were safe.

—SIMON SHUSTER/IDOMENI

Scores of migrants ford a river in northern Greece, seeking to cross over into neighboring Macedonia

PHOTOGRAPH BY
JAMES NACHTWEY FOR TIME

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The View

'I'M NOT ONLY TRYING TO EDUCATE. I'M TRYING TO MOTIVATE.' —PAGE 32

Thanks to new technology, health officials are finding food-borne outbreaks faster than ever before

THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

PUBLIC HEALTH

Why the rise in food-poisoning reports is actually a good thing

By Alexandra Sifferlin

IF THE LATEST HEADLINES ARE ANY indication, it's never been more dangerous to eat out in America. Since the summer of 2015, Chipotle has been weathering a food-safety nightmare, with hundreds of customers infected with norovirus, salmonella and *E. coli* after eating at the Tex-Mex chain. Meanwhile, in early March, Starbucks recalled some of its breakfast sandwiches because of possible contamination with listeria. Recent months have also seen massive recalls of contaminated pistachios, packaged salads, raw chicken and more.

Food-borne illness may appear to be increasing, but hearing more about it is, in fact, a sign that the food supply is getting safer, not more dangerous. That's because the speed with which outbreaks are identified—and the public notified—has risen dramatically, thanks to sophisticated advances in the government's pathogen-tracking system, called PulseNet. Now the system can take advantage of whole-genome sequencing to get more accurate DNA fingerprints of microbes. That allows experts to identify outbreaks quicker because they can connect individual food-poisoning cases that stem from the same source. The implications are significant not just for consumers eager to avoid the stomach bug but also for food manufacturers, who face unprecedented scrutiny and possibly severe legal repercussions in food-borne-illness cases.

"Listeria has been in the news lately because we have been using

PHOTOGRAPH BY SAM HODGSON

this new system that is helping us find more cases, and sometimes we find ones we think we would've missed before," says Dr. Robert Tauxe, who oversees food-safety issues at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). "I hope it means we will be finding outbreaks while they're smaller and stopping them."

Since PulseNet launched in 1996, health officials have been building the national database of microbes that turn up in food and make people sick. Before PulseNet, it could take nearly 40 days to detect an outbreak. For instance, during an *E. coli* outbreak in 1993, over 700 people got sick and four died. In a similar outbreak after the introduction of PulseNet, officials detected *E. coli* in under half the time, just 44 people got sick, and no one died. In the 20 years since PulseNet's inception, 1 billion lb. of tainted food has been recalled.

And that process is getting better all the time. In 2015 the CDC used whole-genome sequencing to figure out the source of a years-long outbreak of listeria. It was the first time the agency had identified an outbreak of such long duration, with 10 cases spread over five years. The outbreak—which killed three people—started with Blue Bell ice cream, officials concluded. Until recently, this mystery might have been impossible to solve; some of the reported cases date as far back as 2010, and linking those earlier cases to the 2015 ones would have been much harder without the new technology.

"It was the whole-genome sequence that tied it all up and gave us the confidence that, boy, this was really happening," says Tauxe. Blue Bell ultimately recalled its entire product line, and the company is reportedly under investigation by the Department of Justice.

Blue Bell's wasn't the only listeria mystery solved this way. In September, the CDC used whole-genome sequencing and information from PulseNet to identify an outbreak of listeria linked to soft cheese, which had sickened 30 people. A recent outbreak linked to packaged salads was discovered with the same method in January.

This is all happening as the legal ramifications of food-safety violations grow more severe. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration now exerts more power over food safety, and officials have brought criminal charges against executives involved in food-safety scandals. Recently, the CEO of a peanut-processing company was sentenced to 28 years in prison for his role in an outbreak.

That's unsettled some food executives, but for the average American, the more precise tracking of pathogens and higher legal stakes mean food will only get safer. "The people who make the food have to do it correctly and do it safely," says the CDC's Tauxe. "I think we will all be healthier in the future." □

VERBATIM

'There's an epidemic in our country of girls and women feeling bad about themselves based on what 0.5% of the human race looks like.'

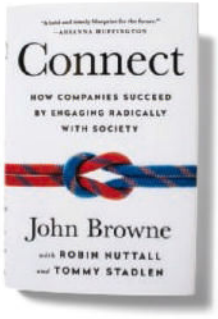
MELISSA MCCARTHY, actor, arguing for more-inclusive beauty standards, especially in fashion

MCCARTHY: REUTERS

BOOK IN BRIEF

How companies can do well by doing good

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HOLDS THAT corporations are the enemy of the common good, willing to exploit workers and pollute the environment if it helps their bottom line. But in his new book, *Connect,* John Browne (a former BP CEO who left before the big spill) argues that increasingly the most successful companies are the ones that keep society's welfare in mind. Consider Unilever, whose sustainability measures—like reducing water use by 32% since 2008—helped boost revenues from €40 billion in 2009 to €48 billion in 2014. On the flip side, Volkswagen's shares plummeted after news broke that it had cheated on emissions tests. To compete in the modern economy, Browne writes, it's not enough to make empty promises. Rather, companies must be "far-sighted enough to make friends before they need them and to communicate in a language that exudes authenticity rather than propaganda."



—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

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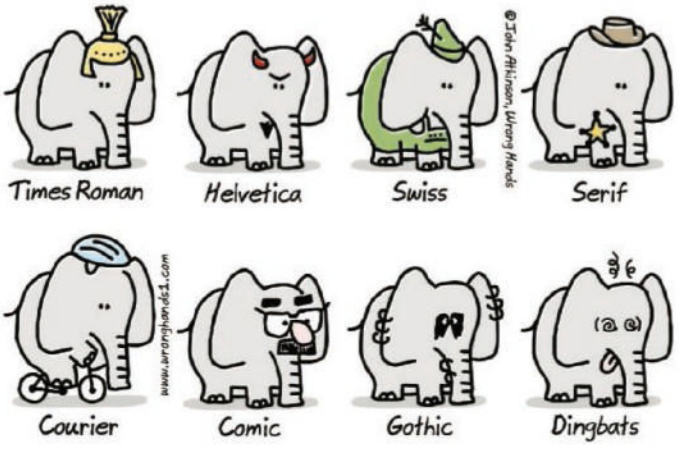

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SPOTLIGHT

THE GEOGRAPHY OF GENIUS

"If it takes a village to raise a child . . . it takes a city to raise a genius." That's the case Eric Weiner makes in his latest book, which explores how history's greatest thinkers were (and are) shaped by their surroundings. A sampling:

CLASSICAL ATHENS
The city's "openness to foreign goods, odd people [and] strange ideas" made it a bastion of creative thought, giving birth to Socrates and Aristotle.

SONG DYNASTY, HANGZHOU, CHINA
From A.D. 969 to 1276, China's emperor-poets created a culture of generalists, especially in Hangzhou, then one of the world's biggest, richest cities. That led to advances in woodblock printing, compasses and more.

RENAISSANCE FLORENCE
Patrons like the Medicis thought they could save themselves from damnation by sponsoring religious artwork, launching Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci.

SILICON VALLEY
The tech hub has become the ultimate "talent magnet" for digital disrupters.
—Sarah Begley

BIG IDEA

A kids' toy that teaches coding

Kickstarter's latest craze is Cubetto, a $195 robot and game system designed to spark young kids' interest in coding. Here's how it works. *—Julie Shapiro*

1 A series of colored blocks indicate directions for Cubetto to turn or move—green for forward, red for right and yellow for left.

2 Kids place the blocks in a sequence on a control panel, which instructs Cubetto to reach specific destinations (like the mountains) on a giant map.

3 Once Cubetto moves, kids can see their "code" at work. "It makes abstract programming accessible," says co-creator Filippo Yacob.

QUICK TAKE

Why poverty is sexist

By Melinda Gates

ONE OF THE MOST OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATES I know for women and girls is actually a man. As co-founder of the ONE Campaign, my friend Bono spends a lot of time speaking out against global poverty. Together, we're working to get out a simple, powerful message: poverty is sexist.

Women and girls are more likely to be impoverished, less likely to get an education and more likely to suffer bad health. And when they're born into poverty, it's much more difficult for them to lift themselves and their families out of it.

Why? One reason is that breaking out of poverty takes time—and that's a resource women around the world are short on. On average, women spend about twice as much time as men doing the unpaid work that makes life possible for everyone, like cooking, cleaning and caring. In developing countries, the gap is even bigger. As a result, women have no time to finish their education, learn new skills, open a business or even go to the doctor. They dream of creating a better future for their children, but they can't spare the hours to put those dreams into action.

The fact that the potential of so many women is going unrealized is a tragedy—but it's also an opportunity. We need to recognize, reduce and redistribute the burden of work that's holding them back. Because if women had time to invest in themselves and their ideas, they could transform the world.

Gates is a businesswoman, philanthropist and co-founder of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

ACROPOLIS: GETTY IMAGES; CUBETTO: MICHAEL BUCHER FOR TIME; GATES: AP

SIEMENS
Ingenuity for life
Revitalizing downtown takes the same ingenuity as moving a bass guitar across town.
When Portland was ready for a new light rail system, they went to the people to crowdsource ideas. Ideas like adding more space for bikes, wheelchairs and guitars. Siemens not only builds custom trains designed for a city's unique needs, it keeps them running on time, efficiently and reliably—supporting commuters, neighborhoods and new businesses in Portland and around the country.
usa.siemens.com/ingenuityforlife
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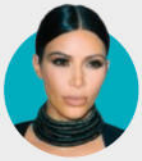
JOY CHO
The design and DIY guru has 12.8 million followers on Pinterest, more than any other user. This year she will design souvenir eggs for the White House Easter Egg Roll.

DERAY MCKESSON
The #BlackLivesMatter activist co-founded WeTheProtesters.org, an online hub and resource center for the movement. He's also running for mayor of his native Baltimore.



KIM KARDASHIAN WEST
The reality star makes news with social-media posts, and her audience totals more than 130 million across Snapchat, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.

PETER BOUCKAERT
The Human Rights Watch official drew attention to Europe's migrant crisis by tweeting a photo of a 3-year-old refugee, lying dead on a Turkish beach.

A new kind of star power

For our second annual list of the most influential people on the Internet, TIME sized up contenders by looking at their global impact on social media and their overall ability to drive news. Here are some highlights from the full list available at time.com/2016webwinners.

JAMES CORDEN

The pop-star whisperer

Even if you've never watched CBS's *Late Late Show,* chances are you've seen its host, James Corden, singing in a car with Adele. Or playing "tattoo roulette" with One Direction. Or hijacking a tour bus with Jason Derulo.

This is a testament to how well the 37-year-old British comedian understands how to be a late-night host in 2016. It's not enough, Corden says, to be "a white guy in a suit behind a desk," exchanging canned banter with celebrities. Instead, he plays a giddy instigator, pushing celebrities beyond their comfort zone to create the kinds of funny, feel-good clips that thrive in the age of YouTube.

Chief among them is "Carpool Karaoke," a semiregular series (now set for a prime-time special) in which Corden chauffeurs famous artists as they bop along to their own hits. The casual setup is more intimate than a studio set, which helps guests let loose. "The greatest thing about the Internet," says Corden, "is that if people like something, it's absolutely clear." Proof: 85 million have watched his outing with Adele, in which the soulful singer wound up rapping along to a Nicki Minaj verse. *—Daniel D'Addario*

In addition to Adele, Corden has carpool-karaoked with Justin Bieber, Mariah Carey and Elton John

WANT MORE? *Visit youtube .com/ TheLateLate Show*

WANT MORE? *Visit Facebook .com/ IFeakingLove Science*

ELISE ANDREW

The science soldier

If you've come across a Facebook post declaring the dawn of "a mini–Ice Age" or the discovery of a new species of fish-eating spider, chances are it came by way of Elise Andrew. The 26-year-old former biology major is the brains behind I F-cking Love Science, a Facebook page (and now a fully staffed blog) that has built an audience of 24 million, eclipsing those of more established outlets like *Popular Science* (3.2 million) and the New York *Times* (10.9 million). Its goal: to highlight "the lighter side of science" in an effort to spark people's interest. At times, Andrew has been accused of oversimplifying complex issues and promoting stories (like the mini–Ice Age item) that wind up getting debunked. But those critics, she argues, are ignoring the importance of a "staunchly pro-science" news outlet at a time when some presidential candidates deny that climate change exists. "I'm not trying to teach people about science," she tells TIME via email. "I'm trying to give people that moment where they say, O.K., this is interesting, and I WANT to learn more." *—Olivia B. Waxman*

WANT MORE? *Visit vine.co/KingBach*

KING BACH

The budding comedy star

Andrew Bachelor's objective has always been simple: "To be the biggest movie star in the world." But several years ago, after losing various roles to famous actors, Bachelor decided that what he needed was some renown of his own, and fast. Enter Vine, the app that trades in six-second videos—and a realm in which, as his stage name suggests, he's become something like royalty. King Bach commands 15 million followers, more than any other Vine user. It helps, of course, that Bachelor, 27, has a knack for relatable comedy; many of his quick videos portray everyday scenarios—like trying to get a woman's number—gone awry. Casting directors have taken note. He landed his first major TV acting gig (on Showtime's *House of Lies*) within months of his inaugural Vine in 2013. This year he'll add four feature films to his résumé. But even though he initially joined Vine as a means to an end, he has no plans to shutter his account. "That's where my fans are," he says. "I can't just leave them hanging." *—Eliza Berman*

WANT MORE? *Visit YouTube.com/LaciGreen*

LACI GREEN

The millennial Dr. Ruth

"Do not hook up with jerks!" says Laci Green, talking directly to her 1.5 million YouTube subscribers, many of whom are teens and tweens. "People who see sexual encounters as some kind of, like, scoreboard . . . don't deserve to be near your penis, vagina—any hole, really." This is not the sex ed most kids get in schools, where teachers prioritize clinical guidance over sisterly advice. So Green decided to offer an alternative. Since creating her YouTube channel in 2008, she's made videos tackling everything from hookup culture to body positivity to BDSM; to date, they have amassed 122 million views, turning the 26-year-old, who was raised Mormon, into a millennial Dr. Ruth. "I'm not only trying to educate," Green says. "I'm trying to motivate" the next generation of advocates. She's now a go-to host (of MTV's digital series *Braless*) and brand ambassador (for Trojan's "Consent. Ask For It" campaign) with a rapidly growing fan base—including one notable adult. "Young people need this, but I also think adults need this," says *The Fault in Our Stars* author and fellow YouTube star John Green (no relation) of Laci's perspective. "I learned a lot from Laci." *—Nolan Feeney*

KAYLA ITSINES
The Aussie trainer has parlayed Instagram fame (4.6 million followers) into a budding fitness empire, including workout guides, videos and diet plans.

CRISTIANO RONALDO
The soccer titan has attracted over 110 million Facebook followers, more than any other user.

ANGIE NWANDU
The gossip queen reaches 3.9 million people via her @TheShadeRoomInc Instagram account. It's a frothy, celebrity-centric chronicle of who likes whose posts and who starts following (or better yet, unfolding) one another.

DONALD TRUMP
The GOP front runner has redefined how political candidates use Twitter, for better (his candor) and for worse (his taunting insults).

To see the full list, visit **time.com/2016webwinners**

CHO, MCKESSON, KARDASHIAN, CORDEN, ANDREW, BACH, RONALDO, TRUMP: GETTY IMAGES; BOUCKAERT: AP; ADELE: CBS; ITSINES: REX; GREEN: CODY PICKENS FOR TIME

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VIEWPOINT

In a turbulent stock market, the best investment move is the least obvious

By Bill Saporito

VISIT A STEEL MILL AND YOU'LL HEAR THIS ADMONITION from experienced metalworkers: Keep your head on a swivel. Danger, hot and heavy, can arrive from any direction.

That's not a bad way to view investing these days. After a dismal start that initially drained 9% from the S&P 500 in January, stocks rallied in early March. The S&P is down just 1.37%, and oil bounced up to about $40 a barrel. The U.S. economy appears docile: Unemployment is a tolerable 4.9%; inflation remains tame, leaving the Federal Reserve less likely to raise interest rates this month. GDP growth is bumping along at 2%, the new normal.

But you'd better be ready to duck. There's a well-documented tendency—called recency bias—for investors to think the future will resemble the recent past. They also pay too much attention to their home market. "If you look at the U.S. in isolation, you will miss the bigger picture," says Andrew Cullen, a director at Asianomics, a research firm. "The rest of the world isn't cooperating."

First, consider that the World Bank has lowered its global growth forecast from 3.3% to 2.9%. Then there's China, where the government's 7% growth target doesn't seem feasible to some analysts. "Chinese year-over-year imports and exports are negative. Explain to me how China's growing at 7%?" said Jeffrey Gundlach, CEO of investment firm DoubleLine Funds, in a recent webcast. China is importing less raw material, which weighs further on beaten-down commodity prices and on commodity-dependent economies like Australia and Canada. At the same time, two of its big customers, the euro zone and Japan, keep expanding quantitative easing to stimulate their anemic economies. That's why some German and Japanese bonds carry negative interest rates. The result: an undeclared currency war in which Europe's purchasing power parity relative to China has declined some 20% over the past two years.

Global trade overall is lagging—you can see it in the distressed charter rates for cargo ships. "If you are a U.S. company with direct international exposure, your top-line revenue has to be challenged," says Cullen. When the top drops, the bottom line usually follows. Increasing wage pressure in the U.S. (a by-product of lower unemployment) could ding profits even more. And since stock prices are pegged to future earnings, that's hardly a positive for the market. Since World War II, Cullen's research finds, a sequential quarterly decline in corporate revenues has generally led to a bear market in stocks.

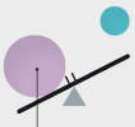
EVEN THE GOOD NEWS has a hollow ring. While Americans have enjoyed cheap energy and Detroit is selling tons of SUVs, domestic oil and gas companies are reaching a breaking point. They've borrowed large amounts of money, debt that sits on the balance sheet of banks like Bank of America. It's no coincidence that BofA's stock is down 19% since the beginning of the year. There could be a gusher of energy bankruptcies unless oil prices rise significantly, yet crude inventories are vast because Saudi Arabia, Iran, Russia, Brazil and Venezuela keep pumping to maintain their own economies.

Despite the cushion of a U.S. economy that relies heavily on consumer spending—not exports—the stock market will be hard-pressed to avoid the collateral damage, according to Gundlach. He says the risk-reward ratio is 10 to 1, "which is incredibly unfavorable." Nor can the Fed be of much help. It already has $2.3 trillion in excess deposits—money no one wants to borrow. That's true of central banks worldwide.

DON'T FEEL DOWN if you find all this hard to digest. "I consult with the second largest hedge fund, and we have 50 Ph.D.s who try to figure this out all the time," notes Tobias Moskowitz, an expert on market returns at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business. The scorecard says that in the past two years, the brainiacs have blown it; the average managed fund underperformed the average Jane who kept her money in a diversified portfolio including cash.

You can't avoid all the dangers that lurk in the global economy, but you can minimize their impact. Timing any market remains a fool's game. Another mistake, says Moskowitz, is that when stocks fall, many investors try to regain some sense of control by selling. That's a bad idea because it keeps them from benefiting from the rebound that will eventually follow, as happened after the Great Recession. "These are things you really can't do anything about," he says. "It sounds defeatist and pessimistic, but doing something might be the worst thing." T. Rowe Price notes that less than 2% of its 401(k)-plan participants made any moves during the January rout. The safest move, in other words, may be no move at all. ◻

UPS AND DOWNS



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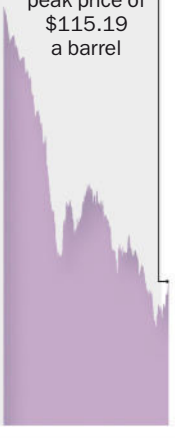
$39.66
Benchmark price of a barrel of crude oil, down 66% from its June 2014 peak price of $115.19 a barrel



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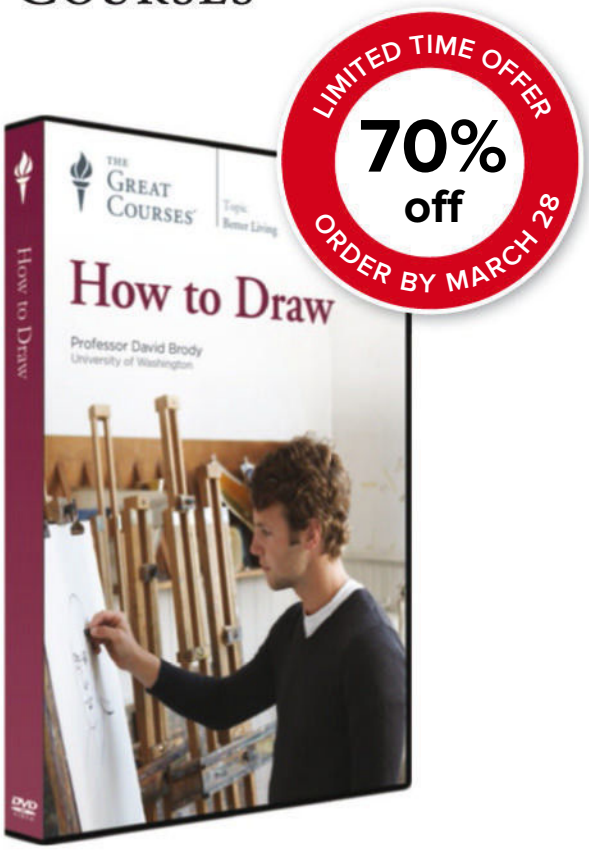

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To take out Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton must first stop acting like a politician

By Joe Klein

THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION OF THE 2016 presidential campaign was asked by an Indian-American doctor and poet named Amit Majmudar in a Democratic forum on March 13. It was so important that the moderator, Jake Tapper, had Dr. Majmudar repeat it to both Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders. The doctor said his family was afraid of Donald Trump. "I am going to have one mission heading to the ballot box, which is to keep him out of office," he announced. "Leaving aside the negative rhetoric and attack ads, none of which have worked so far, can you share with us three specific points of your anti-Trump game plan?"

Sanders' response was very Bernie: Trump was a pathological liar and a billionaire. But Clinton's was borderline weird, and now that she has reinforced her status as the likely Democratic nominee, it bears some scrutiny. She began with the spurious argument that she'd received 600,000 more votes than Trump in the primaries. Then she tried the victim-martyr route: "The Republicans have been after me for 25 years," she said to applause from the faithful. "And there isn't anything they haven't already said about me. And in the course of dealing with all of this incoming fire from them, I have developed a pretty thick skin." Then she made an oblique threat: that there were other arguments against Trump—the product of opposition research, she implied—that she was holding in reserve. "I'm not going to spill the beans right now," she said.

Her final Trump card was foreign policy experience. She said that leaders of other countries had contacted her privately to say they hoped she'd win—an argument with less than zero impact on most American voters. She concluded, more relevantly, by contrasting her knowledge of the world with Trump's bombast and inexperience.

I called Dr. Majmudar the next day and asked if he was satisfied with the response. He wasn't. He said both Sanders and Clinton were "hewing to political techniques that have been ineffectual so far." He said the idea that you could "expose" Trump was futile: "He gets exposed every few days, and it hasn't worked so far." And Clinton's notion that the support of foreign leaders would help her was laughably naive because "Trump's basic appeal is nativist." The American people couldn't depend on inspired leadership, he concluded. "We're going to have to do it ourselves."

Clinton seems particularly ill equipped for the task. She is our very own quinoa and kale salad, nutritious but bland. Worse, she's the human embodiment of the Establishment that Trump has been running against. "I am not a natural politician," she has admitted, and Tapper asked her what she means by that. She said she couldn't speak "in poetry" the way her husband and Barack Obama can. True dat, but poetry is only the beginning of Clinton's deficiencies. Indeed, her real problem is that she's too much of a politician. She still speaks like politicians did 20 years ago, when her husband was President. This year, the candidates who have seemed the most appealing—Trump, Sanders, John Kasich—don't use the oratorical switchbacks that have been beaten to death since John F. Kennedy: "We need a uniter, not a divider." They also, sadly, don't take carefully nuanced positions. Asked about fracking in her Flint, Mich., debate with Sanders, Clinton split hairs with a microlaser, leaving everyone confused. Sanders simply said, "I do not support fracking."

Clinton no doubt assumes that Trump will come after her personally—and that her thick skin will protect her. But here's an easy one: What if Trump raises her husband's "deplorable"—Sanders' description—exploitation of Monica Lewinsky directly in a debate? Will she have the jujitsu cool to respond, "Deplorable? Hell yeah. That's why he slept on the couch for six months"?

THERE IS AN ODD new law of U.S. politics: You can lie, as Trump does all the time, egregiously, but you can't temporize. You can't avoid a position on the XL pipeline or the Trans-Pacific trade deal, as Clinton tried to do in the campaign. You can't try to please too many people too much of the time. Raising your voice to make a point—which Clinton does all the time, disastrously, because it seems such a conscious act—won't get you anywhere unless you're really angry.

In the end, I'm not at all certain that Clinton can beat Trump. He is free-form and anarchic and silly and devastating. She is rote. The answer to Dr. Majmudar's question may involve a simplicity that eludes her. To beat Trump, she is going to have to be patient, dignified, self-deprecating, utterly factual and brutally honest (about herself). Poetry isn't going to work this year. ◻

THE COMING FIGHT

"I'm not a natural politician, in case you haven't noticed, like my husband or President Obama. So I have a view that I just have to do the best I can."

HILLARY CLINTON
March 9

"I have not started on Hillary yet. Believe me, I will start soon."

DONALD TRUMP
March 3

CHARLIE NEIBERGALL—AP

INSIDE APPLE'S < CODE

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELE ASSELIN

W A R >

The world's most powerful tech company is fighting the FBI on terrorism. Why?

BY LEV GROSSMAN / CUPERTINO, CALIF.

Apple CEO Tim Cook works on an iPad Pro in his office at Apple's Cupertino, Calif., headquarters

The day after the massacre in San Bernardino, Calif., where Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik shot to death 14 people and wounded 22 others at a holiday luncheon for the county department of public health, an FBI Evidence Response Team descended on the couple's townhouse in nearby Redlands.

They recovered, among other things, 12 pipe bombs, thousands of rounds of ammunition of several different calibers, and three cell phones: two from a dumpster behind the townhouse and one from the center console of a black Lexus IS 300 parked outside. The two phones in the trash had been crushed by the terrorists, but for whatever reason—maybe an oversight, maybe there was nothing useful on it, who knows—the third phone was intact. It was placed in the care of the Orange County Regional Computer Forensics Laboratory. When investigators booted it up—it was an iPhone 5c running iOS 9, on the Verizon network, serial number FFMNQ3MTG2DJ—the phone asked them for a four-digit pass code.

What followed was like a kid's game of fortunately-unfortunately. Unfortunately, they didn't have the pass code, and the person who did was dead. (Farook and Malik were killed in a shoot-out with police a few hours after the attack.) They could have tried to guess it, but the phone was set up to erase itself after 10 wrong guesses. Fortunately, the phone was Farook's work phone, so technically it belonged to San Bernardino County. Unfortunately, the county didn't have the pass code either, nor did it have the password for the iCloud account associated with the phone, which in the Apple security ecosystem is different from the phone's pass code.

But the county did have the power to reset the iCloud password, which it did. That iCloud account turned out to contain several full, unencrypted backups of the phone. Unfortunately, Farook hadn't backed up his phone to iCloud since Oct. 19, so the data was out of date. Further misfortune: not all the information on an iPhone is necessarily included in a backup.

All that data was still on the phone, but encrypted with a pass code that nobody had. Not even, amazingly, the company that made the phone: Apple.

The FBI did ask. "We didn't hear anything for a few days," says Tim Cook, Apple's CEO and the successor to the late Steve Jobs. "I think it was Saturday before we were contacted. We have a desk, if you will, set up to take requests from government. It's set up 24/7—not as a result of this, it's been going for a while—and the call came in to that desk, and they presented us with a warrant as it relates to this specific phone."

At 55, Cook is wiry and silver-haired, with an Alabama accent that he has carefully transplanted to Silicon Valley. We spoke in his office at Apple's headquarters in Cupertino—the address, famously, is 1 Infinite Loop. It's a modest office, an askew trapezoid, almost ostentatiously unostentatious, with a few framed "Think Different" posters on the walls, some arty photographs of Apple stores and a large wooden plaque with a quote from Theodore Roosevelt on it (the "daring greatly" one). Jobs' office is next door. It's dark, with curtains drawn, but the nameplate is still there.

To be clear: Apple complied with, and actively assisted, the FBI's investigation, right up until it didn't. There was plenty of cordial back-and-forth, exchanges of information and know-how. "We gave them some unsolicited advice—we said, take the phone to the home or apartment and power it, plug it in and let it back up. And as it turned out, they came back and said, Well, that didn't work." It emerged that resetting the iCloud password had been a serious tactical error: they could've gotten the phone to make a fresh backup of itself automatically, but once you change the iCloud password, it won't back itself up without the pass code.

That's when the FBI made a further request: O.K., Apple didn't have the pass code, but maybe it could code up a new version of iOS 9 without the 10-guess limit (and without enforced pauses between guesses, another security measure) and then persuade the San Bernardino phone to install it? A four-digit pass code has only 10,000 possibilities. The FBI could brute-force that in a day and everybody could go home.

Inside Apple this idea is nicknamed, not affectionately, GovtOS. "We had long discussions about that internally, when they asked us," Cook says. "Lots of people were involved. It wasn't just me sitting in a room somewhere deciding that way, it was a labored decision. We thought about all the things you would think we would think about." The decision, when it came, was no.

Cook actually thought that might be the end of it. It wasn't: on Feb. 16 the FBI both escalated and went public, obtaining a court order from a federal judge that required Apple to create GovtOS under something called the All Writs Act. Cook took deep, Alabaman umbrage at the manner in which he learned about the court order, which was in the press: "If I'm working with you for several months

on things, if I have a relationship with you, and I decide one day I'm going to sue you, I'm a country boy at the end of the day: I'm going to pick up the phone and tell you I'm going to sue you."

It also wasn't lost on Cook that the FBI chose not to file the order under seal: if Apple wasn't going to help with a case of domestic terrorism, the FBI wanted Apple to do it under the full glare of public opinion.

THE SPECTACLE OF APPLE, the most admired company in the world, refusing to aid the FBI in a domestic-terrorism investigation has inflamed public passions in a way that, it's safe to say, nothing involving encryption algorithms and the All Writs Act ever has before. Donald Trump asked, "Who do they think they are?" and called for a boycott of Apple. A Florida sheriff said he would "lock the rascal up," the rascal meaning Cook. Even President Obama, whose relations with the technorati of Silicon Valley have historically been warm, spoke out about the issue at South by Southwest: "It's fetishizing our phones above every other value. And that can't be the right answer."

As against that, Apple has been smothered in amicus briefs from technology firms supporting its position, including AT&T, Airbnb, eBay, Kickstarter, LinkedIn, Reddit, Square, Twitter, Cisco, Snapchat, WhatsApp and every one of its biggest, bitterest rivals: Amazon, Facebook, Google and Microsoft. Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, spoke out in Apple's defense. So did retired general Michael Hayden, former head of both the NSA and the CIA. The notoriously hawkish Senator Lindsey Graham, who started out lambasting Apple, switched sides after a briefing on the matter. Steve Dowling, Apple's vice president of communications, showed me a check for $100 that somebody sent to support the world's most valuable technology company in its legal fight. (Apple didn't cash it.)

You can see what the fuss is about. The optics of Apple's decision are pretty terrible, and the reasons for it aren't obvious or simple. The main reason is technical: if Apple created what amounts to a tool for cracking open iPhones, Cook argues (and security experts tend to agree), and that tool got out into the wild, through hacking or carelessness, the security of every iPhone everywhere would be compromised. This is not an unlikely scenario: code, like the dinosaurs in *Jurassic Park,* often finds a way to get free. Under this scenario, GovtOS would be the holy grail for hackers everywhere and a gift to authoritarian governments willing and eager to pry into their citizens' secrets. "To invent what they want me to invent," Cook says, "puts millions of people at risk."

TIME: *Do you think the FBI intentionally chose a case that was very emotional, a case that would make this the hardest version of the debate?*

COOK: *They picked a case to pursue they felt had the strongest possibility of winning. Is there something on the phone? I don't think anybody really knows.*

< >

TIME: *If the courts rule against you, how bad will that be for Apple as a business?*

COOK: *Going against us means likely banning, limiting or forcing back doors for [everyone]. I think it's bad for America, really bad for America.*

To be clear, Cook doesn't mean people are at risk of having their nude selfies put online. He sees the risks of hacking as real, real enough to weigh against the nightmare of a possible terrorist attack. "It's not that one side has life and one side is your financial information or your photo or whatever," he says. "Think about something that happens to the infrastructure, where there's a power-grid issue. Think about the people who are on a medical device that depends on electricity … these aren't fantasy things by any means." (He also doesn't think that GovtOS would help the FBI much anyway, but more on that later.)

The FBI has argued that the new code could be tailored to just that one phone in particular, but modifying the code to attack other phones would be relatively simple. Apple also maintains (and the FBI has as good as conceded) that this case isn't a one-off: it will set a legal precedent. And even if Apple deleted the tool as soon as the FBI was done with it, there would be a line around the block of district attorneys clutching iPhones in evidence baggies demanding that Apple write it all over again. "It's not about one phone," Cook says. "It's very much about the future. You have a guy in Manhattan saying, I've got 175 phones that I want to take through this process." (The guy in question being New York County district attorney Cyrus Vance, who did in fact say that.)

This is the technical argument. Apple's legal argument in the case hinges on the interpretation of the All Writs Act, which is something of a catchall: it authorizes federal courts to issue "all writs necessary or appropriate in aid of their respective jurisdictions and agreeable to the usages and principles of law." Apple's lawyers argue that to compel the company to write, test, debug, deploy and document the necessary software would be excessively burdensome and exceed the bounds of the All Writs Act. (This isn't the first time Apple has been on the business end of the All Writs Act, by a long chalk. In October a similar case came up in Brooklyn involving a meth dealer who claimed to have forgotten his iPhone pass code, and Apple made a similar argument. On Feb. 29 the judge ruled in Apple's favor, though that ruling has no legal bearing on the San Bernardino case.) Apple also floated a slightly more fanciful claim to the effect that compelling Apple engineers to write code they objected to would violate their First Amendment rights.

But these arguments are just the legal and technical shadows cast by another, larger one, which is that people have a right to privacy, and devices like the iPhone, with which we live

on terms of unprecedented intimacy, provide both hackers and law enforcement with a way of invading that privacy like never before. Encryption is the only possible countermeasure. "When I think of civil liberties, I think of the founding principles of this country," Cook says. "The freedoms that are in the First Amendment, but also the fundamental right to privacy. And the way that we simply see this is, if this All Writs Act can be used to force us to do something that would make millions of people vulnerable, then you can begin to ask yourself, If that can happen, what else can happen? In the next Senate you might say, Well, maybe it should be a surveillance OS. Maybe law enforcement would like the ability to turn on the camera on your Mac."

It's an argument in favor not just of privacy but of a new kind of privacy, one forced on us by the utterly changed nature of the technological environment we now live in. Device by device, service by service, we have built over the past decade a world in which an amazing amount of what we do is recorded by our personal devices: our social lives, our health, our money, what we watch, who we talk to, where we go, what we look at. Ten years ago, if I went for a jog, any and all information relating to that jog would evaporate as soon as it happened. It would go uncaptured. Now that information is not only preserved—where I went, how far I went, how fast I went, what I listened to, what my heart rate was—it gets uploaded to the cloud and propagated across my social networks.

The legal scholars Peter Swire and Kenesa Ahmad have coined a phrase for this: the Golden Age of Surveillance. Idly and thoughtlessly, purely because we like the little conveniences and personal services that smart devices give us, we have comprehensively bugged ourselves but good. Devices like Amazon's Alexa or Samsung's smart TVs or even Mattel's Hello Barbie not only monitor the conversation around them but stream it to the cloud to be run through speech-recognition algorithms. They listen and report.

George Orwell knew mass surveillance would invade our homes. The twist he didn't see coming was that it wasn't Big Brother who would do it. We did it to ourselves. "It wasn't very long ago when you wouldn't even think about there being health information on the smartphone," Cook says. "There's financial information. There's your conversations, there's business secrets. There's probably more information about you on here than exists in your home." The question is, now that we have this deeply, richly, intimately installed new surveillance infrastructure, should Big Brother be allowed to access it? And if so, when and how? Or should private citizens have the means to protect it, from hackers and thieves but also from the government?

TIME: *Do you find it odd to be thrust into the role of weighing questions of public and private security, right and wrong?*

COOK: *Yes, it feels very uncomfortable in some ways. Fighting the government is not a thing we choose to do. America is always stronger when we do things together. In my view, the right approach here is for technology and intelligence to talk about the things we can do [together].*

Oddly enough, this particular fight has actually been fought before, more than 20 years ago, in what is known as the Crypto Wars. In 1993, jittery in the face of the growing power of encryption, the White House announced a device called the Clipper Chip that would encrypt digital communications while allowing the government to keep a key. Needless to say, the industry resisted the Clipper Chip on any number of grounds, including the fact that it would render American-made communications technology distinctly unattractive to foreign buyers. By 1996 it was effectively dead, and by 2000 the government had thrown up its hands at the whole quixotic business of trying to legislate encryption.

Strong encryption remained the exception rather than the rule, even as American cybersurveillance ramped up in the wake of Sept. 11. But by 2011 law enforcement was getting concerned again about its practical ability to monitor electronic communications. The FBI's general counsel described them as "going dark," a phrase that has become something of a rallying cry.

After the Edward Snowden revelations in 2013, some technology companies began integrating encryption more tightly and seamlessly into their products and enabling it as the default setting—Apple's iOS 8, released in 2014, was a watershed in that respect. Google's next release of Android did the same. There were already rumblings about encryption legislation long before lightning struck in San Bernardino. Last year, the Washington *Post* quoted an email from Robert S. Litt, second general counsel in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, which speculated, presciently, that the general climate for such legislation "could turn in the event of a terrorist attack or criminal event where strong encryption can be shown to have hindered law enforcement." And here we are.

LAW ENFORCEMENT has long been accustomed to obtaining warrants to search almost anything it wants, subject to the limits spelled out in the Fourth Amendment. (That's the one about "unreasonable searches and seizures.") But encryption creates a new kind of warrant-proof space, a virtual bolt-hole in which private citizens can put the vast amounts of sensitive personal data they generate. It's still accessible to law enforcement in theory, but in practice it's impenetrable without a pass code.

FBI Director James Comey put this new predicament starkly in a congressional hearing on the San Bernardino case in February. "Law

MICHELE ASSELIN FOR TIME

Cook once faced questions about his ability to extend Jobs' winning streak. He put those concerns to rest before Apple's current fight with the FBI took form

enforcement, which I'm part of, really does save people's lives, rescue kids, rescue neighborhoods from terrorists," he said. "And we do that a whole lot through court orders that are search warrants. And we do it a whole lot through search warrants of mobile devices. So we're gonna move to a world where that is not possible anymore? The world will not end, but it will be a different world than where we are today and where we were in 2014."

Comey, who declined to be interviewed on this subject, has framed the conflict as a choice between privacy and security, a zero-sum tradeoff. If it were that simple, Apple would have a steep battle indeed: whatever benefits we get from encryption would have to be weighed against the possibility of lives lost to acts of terrorism. But Cook flatly rejects this view as a red herring. "I think it's very simplistic and incorrect," he says. "Because the reality is, let's say you just pulled encryption. Let's you and I ban it tomorrow. And so we sit in Congress and we say, Thou shalt not have encryption. What happens then? Well, I would argue that the bad guys will use encryption from non-American companies, because they're pretty smart, and Apple doesn't own encryption."

In other words, GovtOS wouldn't help much, because there's no legislating away encryption. The bad guys will remain encrypted as ever, no matter what. "The Internet doesn't have boundaries," Cook says. "You can wind up getting an app from Eastern Europe or Russia or wherever, it doesn't matter which country, just outside the United States. And that app would give you end-to-end encryption." Sure, you might get the data off Farook's phone, but that's the last one you'd get. Then you're back where you started, except worse off, because everybody else's crypto is now more vulnerable, with their data ripe for the pillaging. You're only punishing the good guys.

The stakes are rising on both sides. In 2015 alone, the federal Office of Personnel Management was hacked to the tune of 22 million personal records; hackers released 32 million accounts from AshleyMadison.com, a site that facilitates adultery; and Anthem, the IRS and the director of the CIA got hit as well. "Think about the things that are on people's phones,"

Cook says. "Their kids' locations are on there. You can see scenarios that are not far-fetched at all where you can take down power grids by going through a smartphone." This isn't entirely speculative: in December somebody managed to take down part of the power grid in western Ukraine, leaving 230,000 people without electricity. "We think the government should be pushing for more encryption," he says. "That it's a great thing. You know, it's like the sun and the air and the water."

Except that it protects terrorists as well as good guys. "We get that," Cook says. "But you don't take away the good for that sliver of bad. We've never been about that as a country. We make that decision every day, right? There are some times that freedom of speech, we might cringe a little when we hear that person saying this and wish they wouldn't. This, to us, is like that. It's at the core of who we are as a country."

ENCRYPTION IS ONE OF THOSE technological realities that are so ubiquitous and powerful that they alter political realities—it has a whiff of revolution about it. It changes the balance of power between government and governed.

Apple isn't in the business of revolution, or not that kind anyway. Cook's emphasis is on the extent to which encryption protects your data from the bad guys, the hackers and other malefactors, rather than from law enforcement—but at the same time he does convey a certain leeriness about the government's unseemly eagerness to get at personal information. "I'm the FedEx guy," Cook says. "I'm taking your package and I'm delivering it." He doesn't want Apple to be in the position of storing messages for the government to read. "I'm not saying that from a cost point of view or anything else, I'm saying it from an ethics and values point of view. You don't want me to hold all that stuff. Right? I think you guys should have a reasonable expectation that your communication is private."

He also points out that the All Writs Act doesn't specify what kinds of criminal investigations it applies to. "This case was domestic terrorism, but a different court might view that robbery is one. A different one might view that a tax issue is one. A different one might view that a divorce issue would be O.K. And so we saw this huge thing opening and thought, You know, if this is where we're going, somebody should pass a law that makes it very clear what the boundaries are. This thing shouldn't be done court by court by court by court." (Cook can't completely conceal his irritation at the un-Apple-ish vagueness of the All Writs Act: "You can tell it was written over 200 years ago." As if to say, they ought to let Jony Ive loose on that thing, get it milled to the proper tolerances, upgrade it to a respectable level of precision.)

Whether it will or won't be decided by courts is an open question. The FBI, in a series of increasingly strident court filings, has accused Apple of undermining "the very institutions that are best able to safeguard our liberty and our rights: the courts, the Fourth Amendment, long-standing precedent and venerable laws, and the democratically elected branches of government." It has also threatened, not very subtly, to unleash a nuclear option: subpoena the iOS source code and Apple's "private electronic signature," the certificate with which it identifies its code as valid to its devices, which is the software equivalent of the secret name of God.

As for Cook's talk about privacy and civil liberties, the FBI dismisses it as "marketing." It's fair to say that emotions are running high on both sides. "Do I like their tactics?" Cook says. "No, I don't. I'm seeing the government apparatus in a way I've never seen it before. Do I like finding out from the press about it? No, I don't think it's professional. Do I like them talking about or lying about our intentions? No. I'm offended by it. Deeply offended by it."

To be sure, Cook has been positioning Apple as a defender of personal privacy for some time now, at the expense of several of his key rivals—Cook is fond of pointing out that Apple's business model doesn't involve harvesting and mining its users' data the way that, say, Google, Facebook and Amazon do. (At Apple a lack of interest in customer information is practically gospel—Jobs used to claim that Apple didn't even use focus groups.) Cook's stance is also of a piece with Apple's well-known obsession with top-down control of every detail of its products. For the government to come in and get its grubby, inky federal fingers on Apple's perfect gleaming code must be excruciating at 1 Infinite Loop.

IT'S IRONIC THAT Cook's tough stand on privacy has forced him further into the spotlight. By nature he's as intensely private as the CEO of Apple can be. It also represents another step in a curious trend that has Silicon Valley engineers increasingly acting like statesmen and policymakers, taking positions and making decisions on political and social issues. As more and more of our social and cultural fabric gets integrated into the Internet, power over that fabric is being siphoned off, through mysterious cross-country subterranean channels, from Washington to Northern California. "We're in this bizarre position where we're defending the civil liberties of the country against the

TIME:
When Donald Trump calls for a boycott of Apple products, do you think that's because he doesn't understand the arguments you're making?

COOK:
I haven't talked to him, so I don't know what he thinks. The way I look at it is, Apple is this great American company that could have only happened here. We see it as our responsibility to stand up on something like this and speak up for all these people that are thinking what we're thinking but don't have the voice.

To read the full interview with Tim Cook, go to **time.com/cook**

government," Cook says. "I mean, I never expected to be in this position. The government should always be the one defending civil liberties, and yet there's a role reversal here. I still feel like I'm in another world, that I'm in this bad dream."

Cook is doing his best to wake up. He says he doesn't actually want to make this decision. What he's pushing for is to get it out of the hands of a judge and into Congress; a commission could study the issue and presumably propose some sensible laws to clarify it. "We see that this is our moment to stand up and say, Stop and force a dialogue," he says. "There's been too many times that government is just so strong and so powerful and so loud that they really just limit or they don't hear the discourse." He stresses that whatever the outcome, when the law is handed down, Apple will follow it.

In the meantime, product development in Cupertino will continue to race ahead at the speed of technology, which is considerably faster than that of congressional commissions. It has been reported—though not confirmed—that Apple is evolving a version of the iPhone that even it couldn't crack, not even with the help of GovtOS. It's theoretically possible: if, just for example, the 10-guess requirement in iOS 9 could be incorporated into the phone's hardware, rather than its software, then even modifying the operating system wouldn't get rid of it. No one talks about future products at Apple—to do so would bring the ghost of Jobs howling back from Silicon Valhalla—but Cook says nothing that makes me think it's not going to happen. "I would never do what you're saying with the intention of doing that," is how he puts it. "Our intention is never anything to do with government. It's to protect people. Is it a consequence of it? Yes, I mean, over time you do more and more and more. That's the road we've been on for a decade." The effect would be to render controversies like the present one moot and remove Apple from the legal equation completely, bootstrapping it out like the Lorax.

Cook also suggests that with all those huge invisible billowing clouds of data we leave behind everywhere we go, the encrypted data on phones just isn't that big a deal anymore. Law enforcement shouldn't be whining about iPhones; it should be rolling around in all the other free information that criminals and terrorists are spewing through social networks and Nest thermostats, surveillance cameras and Hello Barbies. Apple even has the keys to iCloud backups, which are readily subpoenable, so why get hung up on the device itself? Which, by the way, 10 years ago didn't even exist? "Going dark—this is a crock," Cook says. "No one's going dark. I mean really, it's fair to say that if you send me a message and it's encrypted, they can't get that without going to you or to me, unless one of us has it in our cloud at this point. But we shouldn't all be fixated just on what's not available. We should take a step back and look at the total that's available, because there's a mountain of information about us."

Its slightly exasperated tone aside, this argument echoes the findings of a report published in February by Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society and signed by an impressive roster of legal and security professionals. The report points out that there are powerful trends at work that balance the spread of encryption: the prevalence of business models that rely on mining users' data; the growth of cloud computing, which puts data on central servers that are more easily accessible; and the proliferation of networked devices referred to collectively as the Internet of Things. "These are prime mechanisms for surveillance," the report says, "alternative vectors for information-gathering that could more than fill many of the gaps left behind by sources that have gone dark—so much so that they raise troubling questions about how exposed to eavesdropping the general public is poised to become."

In fact, we seem to be going through two equal and opposite crises at the same time, depending on who you listen to. On the one hand we're going dark, and on the other we're giving away our privacy left and right. These are local effects that need to be integrated into a bigger picture. Bottom line: the Internet is a vast, messy, porous place, and that same messiness that makes encryption impossible to regulate also means that however strong and seamless and pervasive encryption gets, it can only ever cover a fraction of the data that flows out of us all day, every day.

The next round in the shoving match between Apple and the FBI is set for March 22, when both sides will appear at a hearing in federal court in Riverside, Calif. Sooner or later, all that shoving will have to yield to a delicate balance, one that takes into account the realities of what encryption is and what it isn't, and leaves us with a legal framework strong and clear enough to spare us from having to refight the Crypto Wars a third time. "You know as well as I do, sometimes the way we get somewhere, our journey is very ugly," Cook says. "But I'm a big optimist that we ultimately arrive at the right thing." ▯

<The Debate>

For a range of opinions, visit time.com/apple-fbi

"I stand with Apple, and stand up for civil rights."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson

"Refusing to help law enforcement and the intelligence community risks the safety of Americans."

Senator Dianne Feinstein and Representative Pete Aguilar

"Writing computer code is protected by the First Amendment."

Cindy Cohn, executive director, Electronic Frontier Foundation

"Apple will protect its brand more than our safety and security."

Senator Tom Cotton

COHN: COURTESY ELECTRONIC FRONTIER FOUNDATION; OTHERS: GETTY IMAGES (4)

AS MASS MEDIA MINISTER, MIKHAIL LESIN, RIGHT, BRIEFS VLADIMIR PUTIN AT THE KREMLIN IN 2000

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATIONS BY TIME

A BLOW TO THE HEAD

THE MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF A RUSSIAN MOGUL COULD LEAD BACK TO PUTIN'S COURT

BY SIMON SHUSTER

The Russian phrase *vsyo mogu!*—"I can do anything!"—was practically a motto for Mikhail Lesin. He first announced it to an interviewer in 2003, when he was serving as the propaganda chief to President Vladimir Putin.

It captured the indestructible ambition that took him out of the steppes of Mongolia, where he started out working in construction, and brought him to the heights of power in Moscow as a media mogul and mouthpiece of the state. Lesin stayed at the top for nearly two decades, impressive longevity in the Kremlin, where politics are played for keeps. But his sudden death four months ago in a hotel room in Washington, D.C., at age 57 demonstrated that the master showman wasn't as invincible as he liked to let on.

Russian authorities claimed after Lesin's death that he had died of a heart attack. But on March 10, the chief medical examiner of Washington announced that the cause of death was actually blunt force trauma to the head. The medical examiner also revealed that Lesin's body had apparently been pummeled, with injuries to his arms, legs, neck and torso. Police have not yet determined Lesin's exact manner of death, or how he received the injuries that killed him. They have not yet ruled it a homicide. But the marks of violence on his body—and his refusal to comply with some of Moscow's orders in the months and years before his death—have renewed speculation that the case could lead back to the Kremlin.

Adding to that mystery, and the Russian conspiracy theories, was a mixed message from the U.S. government on federal law enforcement's interest in Lesin. In 2014, U.S. Senator Roger Wicker called on the Justice Department to open a money-laundering and corruption probe into Lesin. FBI officials say there is no ongoing investigation in that matter. On March 11 White House spokesperson Josh Earnest said that the FBI was "involved" with the investigation into Lesin's death. But on March 15, the White House said that Earnest misspoke and that the FBI was not involved in the case, which is being handled by the local police department in Washington, D.C.

LESIN'S RELATIVES haven't commented on the medical examiner's report. Echoing the Russian authorities, his family reportedly said in November that Lesin had died of a heart attack.

That's difficult to square with the medical examiner's report, which showed clear signs of physical injury. But on March 11, one of Lesin's close friends and former business partners, the Russian advertising mogul Sergei Vasiliev, suggested a new explanation: Lesin had simply fallen off the wagon while in Washington, drank himself into a stupor, fell down and hit his head—and, apparently, his neck, torso and extremities.

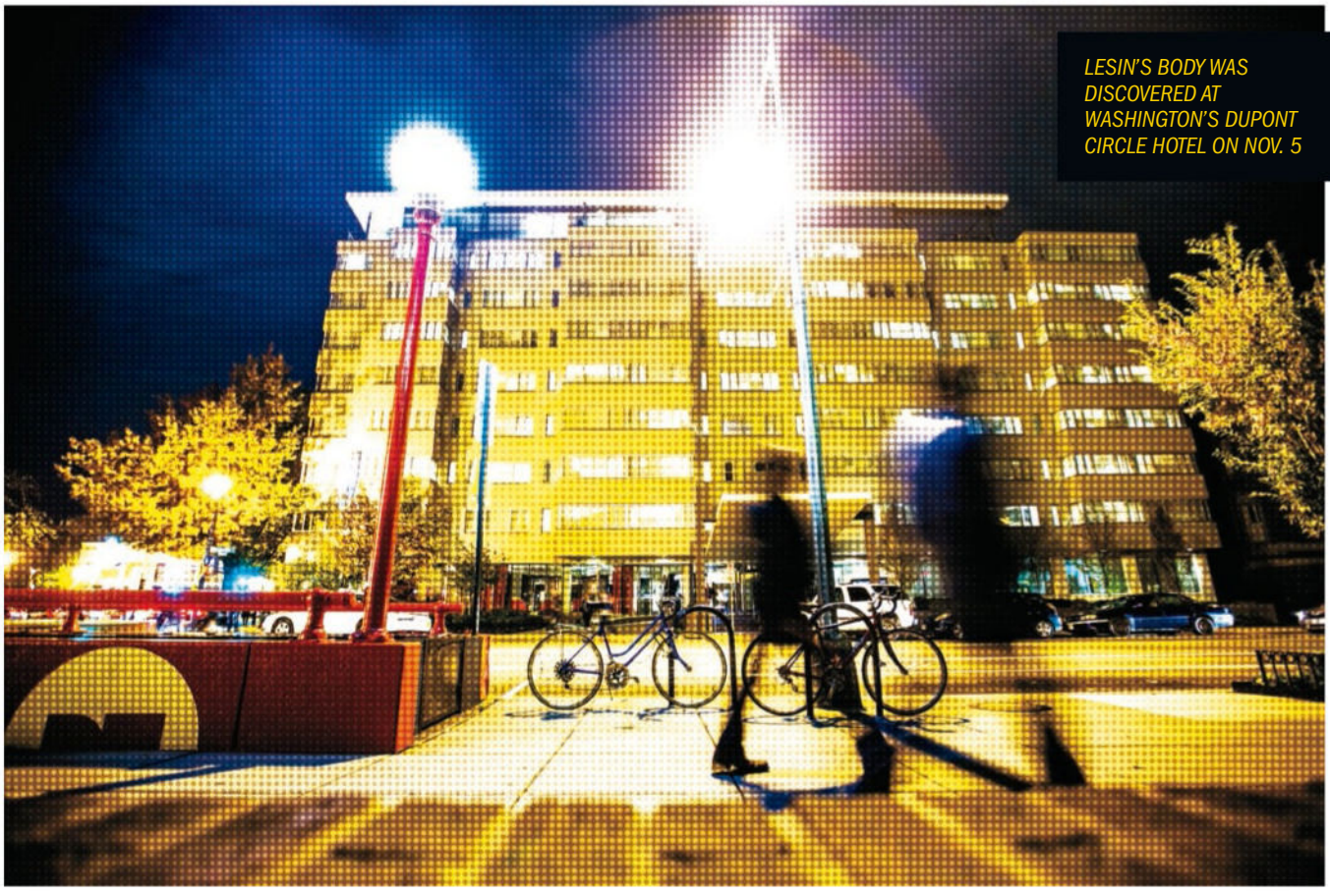
"There have been such incidents," Vasiliev said in an interview with one of Putin's biographers, Andrei Kolesnikov of the Russian newspaper *Kommersant*. "He would fall down and accidentally hurt himself, including in fairly serious ways." Citing the Russian Foreign Ministry and "other agencies" as his sources, Vasiliev said Lesin went on a 24-hour bender at the Dupont Circle Hotel before being found belligerently drunk on the evening of Nov. 4 by a security guard. Having failed to put Lesin to bed, Vasiliev said, the guard left him alone to sleep it off. Maids found his body on the floor the next morning.

Reached by TIME, hotel management said it had "no comments whatsoever" on the matter, and declined TIME's request to speak with the security staff. But the version of events Vasiliev offered—while consistent with Lesin's history of heavy drinking—did little to calm the theories of foul play that emerged right after he died in November.

On Nov. 8, another one of Lesin's old associates, the German-born Russian businessman Alfred Koch, posed a curious question on his Facebook page: How could the Russian embassy have known the cause of death before the medical examiner? "Why did the embassy want everybody to think it was a heart attack?" wrote Koch, who served as Russia's Deputy Prime Minister in the 1990s.

Lesin had intimate knowledge of the Kremlin's financial dealings from his long association with Putin, says Kirill Petrov, a Moscow political consultant who studies Russia's ruling elites. "He had moved to the periphery in recent years, but he was still close to some very important people." When the Justice Department referred the financial investigation to the FBI in 2014, Lesin said he was worried, and not only for himself. "I'm not calm about what's happened for one simple reason," he confided to the Russian edition of *Forbes* in August 2014. "I worry for my family."

Among Russian oligarchs, Lesin was not alone in his fears. The Russian invasion of Ukraine that spring had led the U.S. to impose a series of targeted sanctions, and the oligarchs closest to the Kremlin found their foreign bank accounts frozen and their companies shut out of global markets. In enforcing the financial blacklist, the U.S. Treasury Department began to study the links between Putin's associates and their global



LESIN'S BODY WAS DISCOVERED AT WASHINGTON'S DUPONT CIRCLE HOTEL ON NOV. 5

business empires.

Lesin was among the insiders with access to such information, and he never seemed like the type to sacrifice himself to protect the state. He was a maverick, one who had earned a reputation in Moscow for puckish irreverence to the rules the Kremlin tried to impose on the political elites. In a country where the individual is always beholden to the state, and the state is accountable to no one, Lesin long showed a knack for trying to game the system for his own benefit. The question now is whether that habit might have gotten him killed. Whether or not conclusive proof of foul play ever emerges, the life and mysterious death of the man who helped cement Putin's hold over Russia underscores the way the Kremlin has become increasingly isolated, and at the same time, intent on maintaining control—even over the oligarchs who have long profited from their connections to the state.

RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES CLAIMED LESIN DIED OF A HEART ATTACK. BUT THE CHIEF MEDICAL EXAMINER OF D.C. SAID ON MARCH 10 THAT THE CAUSE OF DEATH WAS ACTUALLY BLUNT TRAUMA TO THE HEAD

MIKHAIL YURIEVICH LESIN was born into a military family in the summer of 1958 and grew up in the very center of the Soviet capital. His father, a high-ranking naval officer and engineer, took the family in the summers to Crimea, the home of the Black Sea fleet, and the surroundings inspired Lesin's dreams of following his father into the Soviet navy.

But his streak of defiance showed early. An argument with one of his schoolteachers got him banned from the youth league of the Communist Party, which then refused to grant him membership—a prerequisite for advancing far in Soviet society. Another spat with an authority figure later got him expelled from the economic faculty of Moscow's most prestigious university.

So in the late 1970s Lesin went to serve in the Soviet marines, where his commanders tried to send him to fight in the jungles of Angola. The civil war in that country, begun in 1975, was one of the

PREVIOUS PAGES: REUTERS; THIS PAGE: JIM LO SCALZO—EPA

murkier proxy conflicts of the Cold War, and the Kremlin preferred to send its soldiers there clandestinely. This would enable the authorities back in Moscow to deny any direct involvement in the conflict if the bodies of its troops were found in the war zone—a tactic that Putin has embraced years later in eastern Ukraine, where Russian fighters have gone into battle over the past two years with no identifying markers on their uniforms.

But Lesin had no intention of following such orders. Instead, he tattooed his full name and other identifying information on his forearm, according to a biographical piece on Lesin that Russia's state news agency published in 2009. The trick succeeded in exempting the young marine from involvement in that covert war; his dead body would have been too easy to trace back to Russia.

Having finished his military service, Lesin got a degree in engineering and went to work as a foreman at a construction site in Mongolia. The post was remote but lucrative, and it gave him his first taste of the good life. "We went there to make money," he is quoted as saying in a 2003 profile in the Russian journal *Career*. "Everybody was drinking moonshine. We liked wine and vodka. Everybody took the train to Moscow for a holiday. We flew on the airplane."

After returning to the capital in the late 1980s, he got involved in the Soviet Union's favorite form of television entertainment, a sort of competitive sketch comedy show called KVN, or *The Happy and Quick-Witted Club*. He took tickets at the shows and designed costumes for the performers, gradually finding himself in the role of an impresario and talent agent.

In the gray world of Soviet television, these skills were exceedingly rare, and Lesin was positioned perfectly when the Communist superpower collapsed. He founded one of post-communist Russia's first TV advertising companies, Video International, and took senior posts in some of the countries leading news organizations. These would become his tickets to power.

The age of stolid Soviet propaganda was over, and the Kremlin needed something new to impress a populace flush with Hollywood movies. The Russian economy was in the gutter. The war in Chechnya had ended in disaster. So then President Boris Yeltsin called on the young entertainer to liven up his reelection campaign in 1996. The modern Russian style of propaganda—a pungent cocktail of jingoism, vaudeville and slander, all televised—was born out of those elections, and Lesin was one of its founding illusionists. His name is still associated with the winning slogan from that campaign: "I believe. I love. I hope."

In the years that followed, the man with his name tattooed on his arm became the Kremlin's leading image-maker, first for Yeltsin and later for Putin, who won the presidency in 2000. As a first order of business, Putin set out to consolidate control over the mass media in Russia, and Lesin's role in this endeavor earned him the nickname "The Bulldozer." With the police and justice system at their command, they engineered the hostile takeover of Russia's main television channels during Putin's first term in office, forging a virtual monopoly on information that, to this day, has helped ensure the stratospheric popularity of Russia's president. In 2005, Lesin branched out into international news with the creation of Russia Today, a Kremlin-funded station which broadcasts in several languages around the world.

But for all the evident enthusiasm Lesin put into these efforts, he was never content to be a mere civil servant. His original passion was earning money, and he pursued it even while serving on the Kremlin's staff as an adviser on media affairs. His Los Angeles property portfolio allegedly grew to a value of $28 million—though he said his children were the actual owners—and he dabbled in Hollywood movie production, using his wealth and growing connections to access American high society. By the early 2000s, Lesin was spending much of his time in Beverly Hills. But back home, things were changing fast.

LESIN WAS A MAVERICK, ONE WHO HAD EARNED A REPUTATION IN MOSCOW FOR PUCKISH IRREVERENCE TO THE RULES THE KREMLIN TRIED TO IMPOSE ON THE POLITICAL ELITES

IN 2012, when Putin returned to the Russian presidency for a third term, he gathered a few hundred of the country's wealthiest and most influential men at the Kremlin to deliver a simple message in his state-of-the-nation address. "The offshore nature of the Russian economy is the stuff of legend," he said. No longer would they be able to earn fortunes and wield power in Russia while storing their money in the West. They would have to bring it home.

This directive, which unnerved a lot of officials in Moscow, wasn't issued chiefly for the sake of the economy. Oil prices—which power the Russian economy—hovered around $100 per barrel for much of that year, and there was plenty of wealth to go around. Instead, "de-offshorization," as it was called, was a kind of insurance policy. Relations with the West—which had improved under Dimitri Medvedev, who was President between 2008 and 2012 while Putin served as Prime Minister—were growing increasingly tense. The Kremlin elites were preparing for a drawn-out confrontation with Washington.

But they couldn't be expected to win such a fight while also storing and investing their money in the West. Not only would it look hypocritical to the Russian public, it would also make the entire hierarchy vulnerable to financial warfare. By freezing assets or imposing travel bans, the U.S. could pressure Kremlin officials to turn against Putin or undermine his rule. Gleb Pavlovsky, who served as an adviser to Putin between 2000 and 2011, sums up the concern with an old Russian saying: "The place you keep your treasure is the place you keep your heart."

With their lucrative access to power

at home and their profits stashed in the West, members of the ruling class in Russia "live in two worlds," Pavlovsky continued. "Over here they are dictators. Over there they are consumers, banking clients, players on the stock market and all around respectable guys. Putin, in his third term, decided to stop this duality."

At first, much of the ruling class ignored these instructions or found workarounds to keep their wealth in the West. But loopholes were no longer tolerated after the war in Ukraine began in 2014. With Russia's occupation and annexation of the region of Crimea that spring, Putin's fears came true. The West began imposing financial sanctions on dozens of his closest associates, and a global hunt for Kremlin-linked property began.

Some of the most difficult assets to protect were the ones belonging to the children of Putin's associates. In many cases, these princelings had lived in the West for most of their adult lives—Lesin's children studied in Switzerland—and they could not simply be ordered by their fathers to return to Russia as adults. But their lives and businesses in the West had nonetheless become a liability, one that gave the U.S. a means of coercing Putin's elites.

That became clear in July 2015, when the U.S. imposed sanctions on Roman Rotenberg, a 34-year-old businessman who had lived in Finland and held a Finnish passport. His father, the billionaire Boris Rotenberg, is Putin's childhood friend from judo school and one of the most influential oligarchs in Russia. The fact that his son was fair game for the U.S. authorities had serious implications for national security. "Every general of the Army or the FSB [Russia's state security service] has a son in the business world with money offshore," says one Kremlin insider and former adviser to Putin, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "That changes their system of coordinates." It also means their loyalties may become divided.

With that in mind, Putin quietly increased the pressure to repatriate foreign assets; they would now apply to children as well. This time no one seemed exempt, not even the President's oldest friends and allies. Vladimir Yakunin, the head of the state railway monopoly, was fired last August soon after the Kremlin learned that his son, Andrei, had applied for British citizenship. This was deemed an "act of betrayal" amid the sanctions war, according to an investigative report in Russia's only independent news network, TV Dozhd, which cited sources close to Yakunin. (Yakunin told Bloomberg News in January that the decision to resign was his own.)

LESIN, WITH PUTIN IN 1999, WAS DUBBED "THE BULLDOZER" FOR HIS CONTROL OVER THE RUSSIAN MEDIA

After that, most of the Kremlin hierarchy got the message that Putin was serious about repatriating wealth. But Lesin, apparently, did not.

BY 2014, the former minister of propaganda had already fallen a few rungs from the heights he occupied during Putin's first term. Starting in 2009, the Kremlin began urging senior officials to sell their business interests and leave the boards of private companies. Lesin resisted complying, an act of insubordination that contributed to his dismissal from the Kremlin that year for "systematic disciplinary violations," according to the Interfax news agency.

But Lesin's contacts remained intact, notably his ties to Yuri Kovalchuk. After being elected President in 2000, Putin brought the Kovalchuk family along to Moscow, and they have since become one of the wealthiest and most influential clans in Russia, with vast holdings in the banking and media sectors. That includes a major interest in the information conglomerate Gazprom-Media, where Lesin acted as chairman starting in 2013.

In March 2014, Kovalchuk's name had been added to the U.S. sanctions list. In its assessment, the U.S. Treasury Department referred to him as Putin's "personal banker" and a member of his inner circle. It wasn't long before the scrutiny shifted to his old friend Lesin. In the summer of 2014, a few months after the annexation of Crimea, Senator Wicker, a Republican from Mississippi, wrote a letter to the Justice Department calling for a money-laundering and corruption probe into Lesin's offshore company and his family's Los Angeles property.

The prospect of having these properties seized apparently had a sobering effect on Lesin, who insisted that the mansions belonged not to him but to his children. "My children don't have any connection whatsoever to my work," he said in August 2014. "My daughter is 35 years old. My son is 31. They are adults, living independent lives." But they were still fair game in the sanctions war. In December 2014, the U.S. Attorney's Office confirmed that it had referred Senator Wicker's complaint to the FBI and the Justice Department for investigation. That month Wicker told Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty that the Justice Department "does not confirm or deny the existence of an ongoing investigation," but called the response from the U.S. Attorney's Office "a positive step forward." On Dec. 19, Gazprom-Media said that Lesin had resigned as chairman.

Despite his close ties to many of the people on the U.S. blacklist, Lesin continued traveling to the U.S., and his family's assets in California were never seized. But the media magnate seemed to be aware that he was making powerful enemies. In the last major interview he gave before his death, with *Forbes* Russia, Lesin suggested that the threats against him and his family had been orchestrated by people who wished him ill. The interviewer asked whether he meant people in Russia.

"There are plenty of them," Lesin answered, "both here and there." —*With reporting by* MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON ◻

REUTERS

Across generations and professions, a **President** and a **prima ballerina** talk about **race, beauty and breaking barriers.**

In conversation: Misty Copeland and Barack Obama

BY MAYA RHODAN

THERE'S A SCENE IN *A BALLERINA'S Tale,* a documentary about Misty Copeland's ascension to the pinnacle of the ballet world, in which she confesses her fears.

"I feel like a lot of the time what I'm being judged on is my aesthetic," she admits. "It may not be said, but a lot of the time I don't think that the classical-ballet world will ever accept me because I'm something different."

Since then, Copeland has become the first black principal dancer at the American Ballet Theatre, and the question is less whether her peers will accept her than how much she will change the world of classical dance. That's a transition she is still in the process of making, and one that has found her looking to an unlikely mentor, the first black President of the United States, for guidance. "How do you stay grounded, humble and striving?" Copeland asked Barack Obama during a Feb. 29 conversation at the White House moderated by TIME.

The President has embraced Copeland in return as a role model for young people, in part because he has his own teenage daughters. "One of the things I'm always looking for are strong women who are out there who are breaking barriers," Obama said.

And with that, they were off. The two leaders of their respective professions shared stories and confessions about how they have confronted discrimination, how they view the pressures on women and girls and what they are doing to help the next generation avoid some of the same obstacles they confronted as children.

It was a revealing exchange. The President spoke about the high expectations placed on young women to be perfect, noted his admiration for the First Lady's curvy figure and denounced the suggestions by some that Copeland lacks the body type needed to lead a ballet company. Copeland spoke about the pressures she still faces and the wisdom about race that her mother passed on to her.

The President has acknowledged that one of his regrets has been his failure to bridge the nation's political divide. But he said that he hoped that for some black and brown children, his presence in office has made a difference, much as Copeland has made one by performing grand jetés across the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House.

Obama and Copeland in the Cabinet Room of the White House on Feb. 29

You're both born into multiracial families. You were raised by single mothers. And you've risen to the top of your respective fields as African Americans. Is there a common thread that has allowed you both to succeed?

OBAMA: Well, first of all, I thought you were going to say that I'm also a really good dancer. So I was a little let down as you—that wasn't the common thread that she picked up on. Well, first of all, I mean I couldn't be prouder of what Misty's done. You know, as the father of two daughters, one of the things I'm always looking for are strong women who are out there who are breaking barriers and doing great stuff. And Misty's a great example of that.

COPELAND: I think that there is a sense of humbleness and humility, and there's a human that's within you. And I think that it allows you to rise to this level and not feel this pressure that's kind of pushing you down.

I feel like as I'm embarking on my first season as a principal dancer, I'm experiencing something that I didn't prepare myself for, I think emotionally and mentally and psychologically. When you have all of these expectations and goals to reach this point that 1% get to, you know, how do you—what do you do when you get there? How do you stay grounded and humble and striving? And I think that's on a much smaller scale for me, but something that I feel I can relate to with you that I can't imagine you must have experienced.

OBAMA: I don't know how it felt for you, but certainly for me, you know, probably I burst out onto the national scene with the Democratic Convention speech of 2004. And I still remember telling Michelle and my closest friends, I said I'm not any smarter today than I was last week, right? In some ways, when you struggle for a while, and you've had the ability of being an ordinary person and you've gone shopping, changed diapers and tried to figure out how to pay the bills and so forth, so that you're not some overnight success. Then handling some of these issues ends up being easier because you have a better sense of perspective.

As the President of the U.S., as a principal dancer for the American Ballet Theatre, do you think that people still treat you differently because of race?

COPELAND: You know, my experience has been that a lot of what I've experienced has not always been to my face, or it's been very subtle. But it's in a way

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CALLIE SHELL FOR TIME

To watch the video, go to **time.com/misty**

that I know what's going on and I feel it deep inside of me. And I, being the only African American in almost every environment in terms of classical ballet, it weighs on you and it wears on you after a while. And I feel like a lot of it, as well, is what I'm kind of putting on myself. And this just trying to not get too caught up and too wrapped up and too weighed down with being black and trying to just be the best person and the best dancer that I can be.

And work, and work harder than—even if I see the person next to me that things may be a little bit easier for them, I'm going to try and push myself even harder than them. But I think that being African American has definitely been a huge obstacle for me. But it's also allowed me to have this fire inside of me that I don't know if I would have or have had if I weren't in this field.

OBAMA: Well, part of classical ballet that makes it challenging is that there's a very set way of doing things. There's sort of this canon that people want it just a certain way, or they want it to look a certain way. So do you find now that you're in a position where you can start pushing the barriers a little bit and the boundaries in terms of what people expect?

COPELAND: Absolutely. I mean I think that having a platform and having a voice to be seen by people beyond the classical-ballet world has really been my power, I feel. It's allowed me to say it's O.K. to have a healthy athletic body. We are fully capable of doing everything that the person who doesn't have an extremely athletic body, that is more thin.

I think it's given me more of a voice. And it's, I think, forcing a lot of these top-tier companies to address the lack of diversity and diversifying the bodies that we're seeing in classical ballet. It's really forcing that conversation to be had.

OBAMA: I have to say, as an outsider [to the world of ballet], I don't know if you feel the same way: When I hear that like your body type is considered sort of more athletic or large—you're tiny. For those of you who are watching, you may not be able to see. I mean, you're petite. So the notion that somehow that was even a question is pretty interesting.

COPELAND: Yeah, I mean I think it's how—I think it's a lot of the language and how we use it. And I think for a lot of people of color, that seems to be an easy way, or a way out, by saying you don't fit in. It may be it's your skin color. It may be the texture of your hair. Whatever it is.

As a father of two daughters, do you see that at all? Do you see that pressure in your own life?

OBAMA: Yeah. I mean some of this is just gender issues, generally. I mean when you're a dad of two daughters you notice more. When I was a kid I didn't realize as much, or maybe it was even a part of the enormous pressure that young women are placed under in terms of looking a certain way. And being cute in a certain way. And are you wearing the right clothes? And is your hair done the right way. And that pressure I think is historically always been harder on African-American women than just about any other women.

But it's part and parcel of a broader way in which we socialize and press women to constantly doubt themselves or define themselves in terms of a certain appearance. And so Michelle and I are always guarding against that. And the fact that they've got a tall gorgeous mom who has some curves, and that their father appreciates, I think is helpful. I do think that culture's changing for the younger generation a little bit more.

You see Beyoncé or you see some of these pop stars and what both white, Latino, black children are seeing as representative of beauty is much broader than it was when I was a kid. But it's still a challenge. I mean Malia will talk about

'The fact that they've got a tall gorgeous mom **who has some curves,** and that their father appreciates, I think is helpful.'

BARACK OBAMA

Obama appointed Copeland to his fitness advisory council

black girl's hair, and she's pretty opinionated about the fact that it costs a lot, it takes a long time, that sometimes girls can be just as tough on each other about how they're supposed to look.

And so it's, as a parent, that's a constant learning process that you're trying to hold the fort. And that's why somebody like Misty ends up being so important.

What do you make of social movements like Black Girl Magic, when there's like this grassroots-level reinforcement of these ideas that black is beautiful?

COPELAND: It's so important for this generation. To have movements like Black Girl Magic, I think it couldn't be more positive for a young black girl to see that it's O.K. to be yourself, it's O.K. to not have to transform and look like what you may see on the cover of a lot of magazines.

That you are beautiful, that it's possible to succeed in any field that you want to, looking the way that you do. With your hair the way it is. That something that I fought so hard for throughout the beginning of my career is I didn't want

PREVIOUS PAGES, THESE PAGES: AURORA

to pancake my skin a lighter color to fit into the ballet. I wanted to be myself. I didn't want to have to wear makeup that made my nose look thinner.

OBAMA: Well, social media obviously is the way in which young people are receiving information in general. So the power of young activists to help shape color and politics through things like Black Lives Matter, which I think is hugely important.

And when I think about the journey I've traveled, there's no doubt that young African-American, Latino, Asian, LGBT youth, they have more role models. They have more folks that they can immediately identify with. And that, in and of itself, is of value. But what we also have to remember is that the barriers that exist for them to pursue their dreams are deep and structural.

But if there's no dance studio at all in their neighborhood, and if their schools don't offer any extracurricular activities at all, or if their school is chronically underfunded, then it's going to be a problem. I hope that there are young men of color who are looking at me and saying, I can aspire to be the President, or a Senator, or a community organizer and make change in my neighborhoods. But if they are locked out of opportunity—and in neighborhoods where even if I'm on television, there are no men in their neighborhoods who've got jobs that are able to support a family—then you've still got problems.

> 'I didn't want to pancake my skin **a lighter color** to fit into the ballet. I wanted to be myself.'
> **MISTY COPELAND**

How do you make sure those things are protected when you see, for example, affirmative action in the balance again? Is that something that's important in academics and the arts, for example?

OBAMA: Well, I—look, I'm a strong supporter of affirmative action as a way of opening more doors. And I think there are ways of structuring affirmative action so that everybody's getting more of a chance. And the truth of the matter is, there's always been affirmative action, it just hasn't always been minority focused, right. If you make a big donation to a university, your kid is more likely to get into the university. It's not called affirmative action, it's called legacies. And so [it's positive] for a school, for a dance program, for a political organization to say we're going to actively seek out and recruit talent that hasn't had insight into this field before, this world before.

COPELAND: I absolutely agree. I mean I think it's so completely necessary. Especially when you're dealing with a field that's never really been open, to reaching out to communities that don't have the access, that don't have the exposure and the means to be a part of something especially that's so niche as the classical-ballet world. And I think that it's a responsibility that I feel. You know, being the only African American at this level in American Ballet Theatre, I feel like people are looking at me, and it's my responsibility for me to do whatever I can to provide these opportunities in communities to be able to educate them.

OBAMA: Yeah, this is one of the reasons why I've got something called My Brother's Keeper that we've been mobilizing all across the country. And the notion is, if we can reach young men of color, who so often are channeled into destructive behavior or into dropping out of school and ending up in the prison pipeline.

If we can just expose them to what their possibilities are, link them with a mentor, work with the institutions like schools to say, examine what your policies are on suspensions and expulsions to make sure that black boys or Hispanic boys aren't being treated differently. A lot of them don't know what it means to be a Secret Service agent. Or what would be required for them to pursue a professional degree.

And that then provides the motivation for these young people to navigate and take—make better choices in their own lives. Because ultimately, I'm sure

Misty feels this, I certainly feel it, we wouldn't have succeeded if we hadn't worked hard. You can't replace hard work and initiative and discipline and sacrifice and delayed gratification.

Was there anything that someone told either of you about race, or didn't tell you about race, that you wish they had or that you feel like you had to learn on your own?

COPELAND: I feel like my mom pretty much covered everything with me. Being biracial, she made it very clear to me that yes, you're Italian and you're German and you are black, but you are going to be viewed by the world and by society as a black woman, and you should be prepared for that. I think that I, being very shy, going into a setting where I was the only black woman, allowed me to observe more, rather than react. And I think that saved me a lot. And it taught me a lot.

And it has allowed me to, when I'm interacting with my mentees to say to them, you know, there are just ways that you have to approach situations that may be difficult or may not be fair, but it's how you represent yourself. You may be carrying a responsibility that you don't want, but it is what it is being African American and being in certain environments. It doesn't matter if you're a ballet dancer, if you're an attorney, whatever it is you're trying to do, you're going to be faced with these obstacles.

OBAMA: You know, I mean I think about this now as a parent. Michelle and I are having a lot of conversations around the dinner table. And for me, what I always try to transmit to my kids is that issues of race, discrimination, tragic history of slavery and Jim Crow, all those things are real. And you have to understand them, and you have to be knowledgeable about them. And recognize that they didn't stop overnight. Certainly not just when I was elected. I remember people talking about how somehow this was going to solve all our racial problems. I wasn't one of those who subscribed to that notion.

But what I want them to draw from it is a sense of justice for everybody. My view is that the strength of having been a minority on the receiving end of discrimination is that it should make you that much more attuned and empathetic toward anybody who's vulnerable. Toward anybody who's being locked out.

So what I say to my kids is use this as something that provides you a particular power to be willing to fight on behalf of what you think is right. And that includes thinking about and being concerned with the struggles that whites have in this society as well. You know part of what I think is sometimes difficult, but I think absolutely necessary for black activists like those who are engaging in some of the protests around Ferguson, etc., is to try to also get yourself in the mind-set of a police officer who is scared. And who is trying to figure out how to navigate a really challenging job and wants to get home safe. And may make a split-second decision. And how are they being trained? And are they being provided enough guidance from their bosses that will steer them in a better direction than the worst direction? That's hard to do because it's easier to just kind of say, be angry and frustrated.

What do you see as the single greatest fixable obstacle to the success of young people today?

COPELAND: The single, wow. I think—I mean everything that you were saying, being able to have an understanding of yourself and how you fit into society and who you are. But to be empathetic to everyone around you I think is such a powerful thing to hold. To be able to forgive. All of those things I think can strengthen this generation of our youth. I think having a strong sense of self and just knowing who they are and being comfortable with that.

OBAMA: Well, you know, I spend most of my time thinking about institutions. And there's no doubt, even though it's a cliché, that the single biggest difference we can make is making sure that our kids get a good education. We can do a lot to keep the economy moving forward, we can do a lot to make sure that we're enforcing our nondiscrimination laws. We can do a lot more to open up people's perspective about who belongs where. And press to make sure that we have more women CEOs and more African-American film directors. And more Latino police officers. And all those things are important.

If we could decide tomorrow that there was no discrimination, that we had some new drug that everybody took and suddenly nobody would be racially prejudiced, we [would] still have a whole bunch of really poor kids who need help. And that still requires us making investments in them.

And that means that all of us—the government, private sector, nonprofits—have to make some sacrifices so that those kids are getting an opportunity. And if you talk to the average person, they embrace that idea.

Lastly, is the Golden State Warriors' Steph Curry the greatest, or is he just great?

OBAMA: Steph Curry is the greatest shooter that I've ever seen. You knew I had an opinion on this. And, and I am having more fun watching him than anybody since Michael Jordan.

Is he better than Jordan?

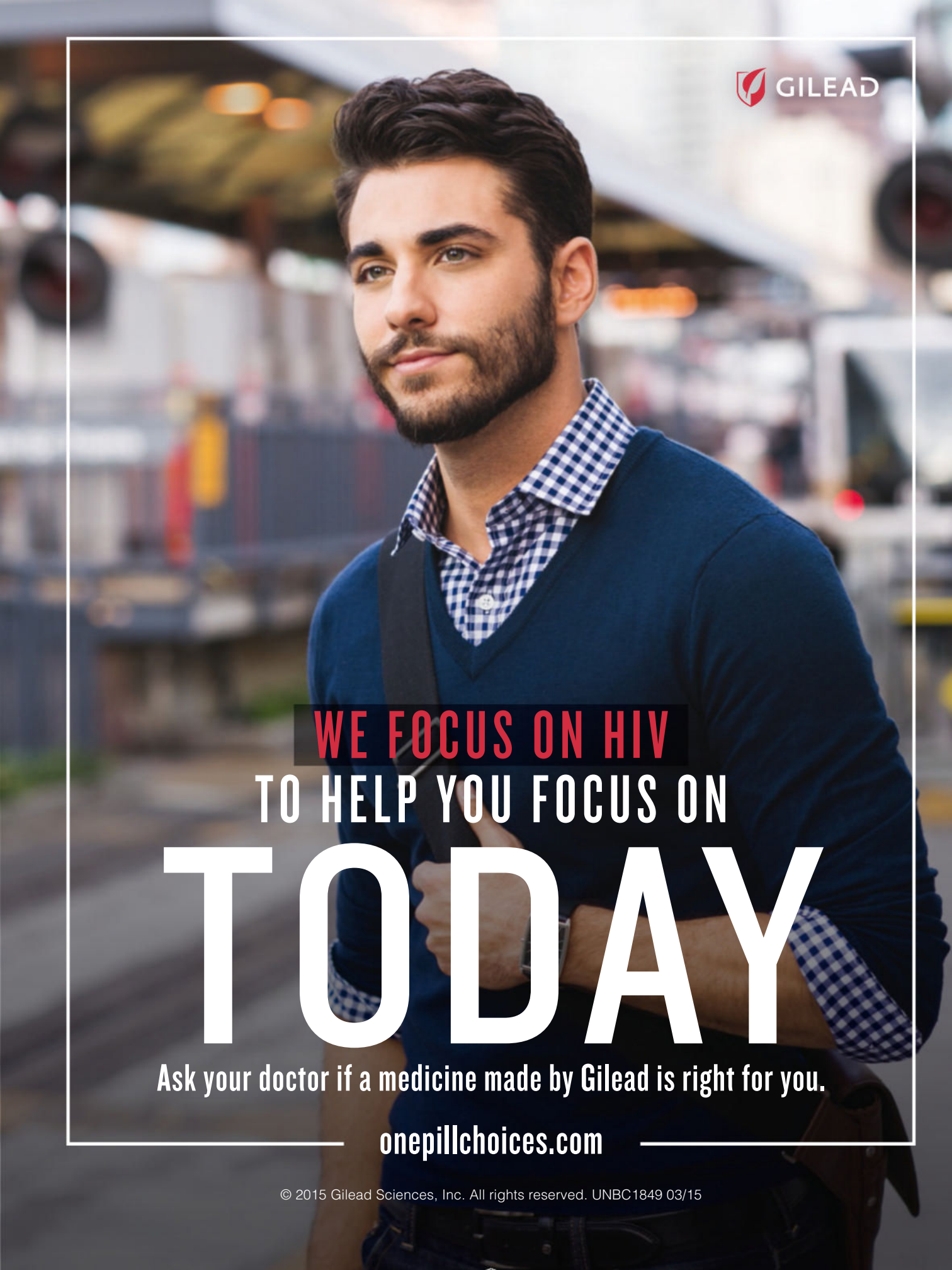
OBAMA: He's not—even Steph wouldn't necessarily say he's better than Jordan. But he's—the fact that he's about my size and he's doing what he's doing …

COPELAND: And I think the growth has been tremendous. I can imagine where he's going to go.

OBAMA: It is, that's a great point. It's rare where you get somebody who's already at the pinnacle and then they take it another notch higher. And he's a wonderful young man. He's a lot of fun.

'There's no doubt that young African-American, Latino, Asian, LGBT youth, **they have more role models.'**

BARACK OBAMA



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VIEWPOINT

The pride and pitfalls of being a black role model

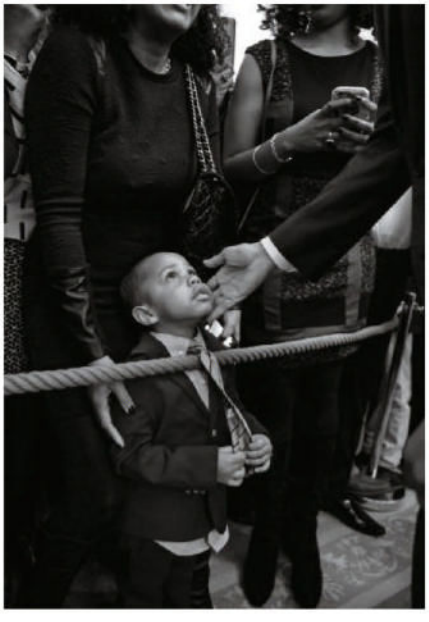
By Kareem Abdul-Jabbar

THE U.S. PRESIDENT AND A BALLERINA.

Throw in a rabbi and a priest and you've got the start of a classic watercooler joke. But add first black U.S. President and first black female principal dancer for the American Ballet Theatre and it's no longer a joke but an uplifting ideal for a new generation of African Americans. Two shining models of how diligence, discipline and perseverance can overcome even the most daunting obstacles to achieve the American Dream. But being a black role model is a double-edged sword of inspiration and frustration.

Yes, you are an inspiration to children of color—living proof that although you face a lot of closed doors, they aren't all locked. For Barack Obama, the doors were double-locked: no black person had ever been President, and no one from Hawaii had ever been President. So too for Misty Copeland: she started ballet at 13—late for a dancer—and had the "wrong" body type. Yet somehow they both rolled the Sisyphean rock of being black to the top of the mountain, and it stayed.

The frustration for the black role model is knowing that though you are proof it can be done—a happy lottery winner waving a million-dollar ticket—the odds are so astronomically stacked against you that it sometimes feels as if you're more a source of false hope and crushed dreams. A casino shill they let win so the suckers will keep playing the slots. Americans have been blasting the "land of opportunity" playlist from birth. At every opportunity, rousing odds-beating success stories are trotted out in history textbooks and popular media to spangle the dream like a beauty queen at a supermarket opening.



President Obama greets Clark Reynolds, 3, at a Black History Month event on Feb. 18

PETE SOUZA—THE WHITE HOUSE

UNFORTUNATELY, THE AMERICAN DREAM has lost a lot of luster in recent years. Rather than shine like a beacon of hope to optimists everywhere, it winks like a battery-drained flashlight in a horror movie. A 2014 New York *Times* poll discovered that only 64% of Americans agreed that they still believed in the American Dream, the lowest result in nearly 20 years. Loss of faith is even higher among America's youth. A 2015 national poll by Harvard's Institute of Politics found that 48% of 18-to-29-year-olds considered the American Dream to be "dead." As Bruce Springsteen said, "I have spent my life judging the distance between American reality and the American Dream."

For Americans of color, that gap may seem like a bridge too far. Having successful ethnic role models is great because it affirms the country's commitment to the principle of equal opportunity. But at the same time we see police killing unarmed African Americans, voter-ID laws keeping poor minorities from the ballot, the federal government slashing programs that offer food and medical care, assaults on affirmative action and an inferior education for poorer children of color, which will keep them out of higher education and better-paying jobs. The door is not just closed and locked—it's boarded, nailed and cemented shut.

SO WHEN WE HOLD UP wildly successful role models, we're telling those who can't overcome the towering obstacles blocking their progress that they are to blame for their failure. They just didn't try hard enough, weren't clever enough, didn't have the fortitude. That's like blaming rape victims for not running away. This is the tyranny of low expectations.

Role models of color face a unique form of judgment. If you're black and you fail, many will claim you failed because blacks aren't up to the task. But if you're black and you succeed, they will then claim that you succeeded because you're black and were given an advantage. You are not allowed to succeed or fail on your own merits. Yet if George W. Bush is judged to be a bad President, no one says, "Well, we tried a white guy and it didn't work, so no more white Presidents." Or Southerners. Or Texans.

The irony is that despite generations of closed doors, it is people of color who have the most faith in the American Dream. A 2015 CNN/Kaiser Family Foundation poll found that 55% of blacks and 52% of Hispanics believed it was easier for them to attain the American Dream than it was for their parents. Only 35% of whites believed that. This brazen optimism in the face of systemic racism is in large part due to pioneering role models like Misty Copeland and President Obama.

In *11.22.63,* a Hulu series based on Stephen King's novel, a man time-travels to the past to prevent the assassination of President Kennedy. But his attempts to change history are met with supernatural resistance because, as a character tells him, the past doesn't want to be changed: "The past pushes back." So does American culture. We fear change so much that we fight it, even when change reflects our founding principles. We just have to push against the pushing. Only harder.

That's what Misty Copeland and President Obama have done their whole lives. Which makes them role models not just for people of color but for all Americans. □

Abdul-Jabbar is a six-time NBA champion

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Time Off

'SKINNY AS A RAKE AND RAKISH AS CASANOVA, HE RECLAIMS WILLIAMS' VAST SEX APPEAL.' —PAGE 66

At 68, Pop is the unlikely last man standing in a triad that included David Bowie and Lou Reed

FERDY DAMMAN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

MUSIC

Iggy Pop strips down for an album that recalls his Bowie-in-Berlin years

By Jim Farber

IT'S NOT EVEN FIVE MINUTES INTO a phone conversation with Iggy Pop before he mentions that he's conducting the interview stark naked. "A person wants to be comfortable, and that's one way I get comfortable," he says. At the same time, Pop makes sure to point out that he's speaking from the backyard of his Miami home, which is "walled and forested." And his revelation doesn't come without context: he's answering a question about his predilection for performing shirtless. Still, the utter lack of self-consciousness—or lasciviousness—with which Pop reveals his full monty of information speaks to a legendary rock-'n'-roll character like no other.

For nearly 50 years, as a member of the Stooges and as a solo artist, Pop has been a performer completely in touch with his feral self. In proto-punk anthems like "Search and Destroy" and "I Wanna Be Your Dog," as well as in unbound stage shows that have incorporated household appliances, hamburger meat and blood, Pop has served as a musical incarnation of the id, as feeling made flesh.

At 68, however, the star admits to "having a few nicks" in his body, and tellingly, he has chosen this moment to release an album that puts him in the past tense: *Post Pop Depression*. It's a work filled with lyrics that address his legacy with existential fret. Small wonder, when characterizing the sustainability of his no-holds-barred career, that Pop sounds like a wizened warrior when he says, "I'm contemplating a phased withdrawal with honor."

The music on *Post Pop* gives fans plenty to honor as well as notions to ponder. It's one of the most vital and engaged works of his career. It also finds him in fresh company, collaborating with Josh Homme, leader of one of the few rock bands to still chart high, Queens of the Stone Age. Their collaboration arrives at a strangely aligned time, directly after the death of a man who Pop recently said "resurrected" his career: David Bowie. "David guided me and put me in a place where nice things could finally come out," Pop says.

Bowie did so back in the 1970s, producing crucial albums for Pop after the collapse of the Stooges. At the time, a drug-heavy and sex-mad Pop had become notorious for his stage act, which included rolling around in broken glass and smearing peanut butter over his body. Bowie channeled that primitivist brilliance into *Raw Power,* Pop's final album with the Stooges before going solo, as well as the two classics forever associated with the pair's decadent days in Berlin, *The Idiot* and *Lust for Life*. The latter two works served as role models for *Post Pop Depression*. "Josh was interested in those records," Pop says, "so I sent him notes on how they were made."

Pop (born James Newell Osterberg Jr.) and Homme first met more than a decade ago at an awards ceremony hosted by the heavy-metal magazine *Kerrang!* "Josh was one of the only people there who hadn't drunk the 'leather Kool-Aid,'" Pop says. "He was dressed noncommittedly, which was key. Also, he had a sense of humor, which I love."

Pop sought out Homme, he says, because "I wanted to make a great f-cking record that the music-susceptible audience would care about." The two agreed to finance the work themselves and to record in secret, mainly at Homme's home studio in remote Joshua Tree, Calif., the better to ensure its purity. The result finds an ideal mean between Pop's oratorical baritone and Homme's dense and dusty brand of desert rock. Homme refers to the project as "the coolest thing I've ever been allowed to be part of" and says, "Most stars who are icons want to play it safe. They wash, rinse, repeat. Iggy wanted to go further."

The song "American Valhalla" epitomizes that, with Pop contemplating what even the most celebrated life adds up to. Pop says he began asking, "Is that all there is?" after the Stooges were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2010. He also thought about more practical matters, like what a lifetime of work gets you in the U.S. "The Republicans successfully introduced this term for Social Security as an *entitlement,*" says Pop, an Obama supporter. "Oh, you mean what I paid into for many, many years is now an entitlement? And they want to end it just as I started getting mine? Nooo! I want more than a legacy. I want to live a good life."

LUSTING FOR LIFE
Pop performs with Bowie in 1977; their collaborations on Pop's early solo albums inspired *Post Pop Depression*

On the other hand, the once mega-hard-living Pop has managed to sustain a nicely balanced existence for himself in his modest home by the beach, where he can frolic naked whenever he likes. He has continued to expand creatively, releasing albums that include French chansons and a Frank Sinatra cover. He finds himself the last man standing in a triad of rock icons associated with '70s Berlin, including Bowie (who recorded three landmark albums there) and Lou Reed (who cut a seminal work named for the city). "If you were in Vegas and laid odds on Iggy being the last one, you would have made a lot of dough," Homme says.

Pop likens his current position to that of a war vet like the old soldiers he sees in his neighborhood. "I had to stick around, because that's how long it took for the arc of my story to work out," he says. "And I suppose there's something important in just doing that." ◻

MOVIES

Miles, Chet and Hank, reimagined

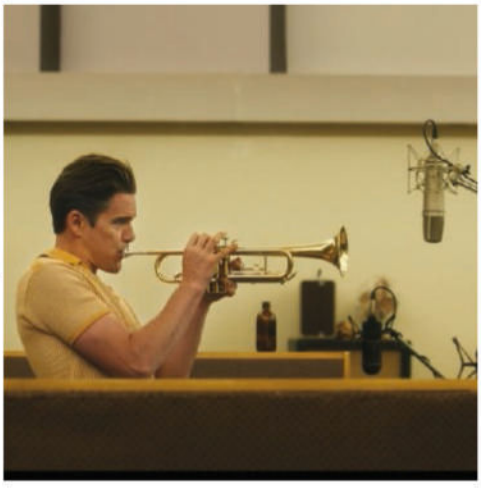
By Stephanie Zacharek

TERRIBLE PEOPLE OFTEN make gorgeous music, a quandary when we want to believe that true beauty shines from within. Shouldn't artists who spin out transcendent sounds also be nice to their wives, their children, their colleagues?

But the things that make human beings shine are rarely all pretty or easy to parse, as three current—if disparate—not-really-biopics show. In Robert Budreau's *Born to Be Blue,* Ethan Hawke plays West Coast jazz heartthrob and junkie Chet Baker, though Budreau isn't even pretending to tell Baker's real story. Instead, he imagines what Baker's life might have been like if, in 1966, he'd gotten clean, fallen in love and switched course. In Don Cheadle's directorial debut, *Miles Ahead,* Cheadle plays an even cooler, wilder trumpet superstar, Miles Davis, but again, this is no straight-ahead biography. Instead, Cheadle has fashioned a wiggy caper set after 1975, when an exhausted, ailing Miles retreated for years from the public eye. Marc Abraham's *I Saw the Light* skips over to a neighboring genre, country music: Tom Hiddleston plays Hank Williams, whose rocky rise to the Grand Ole Opry, in 1949, was followed by plummeting decline. Williams died less than four years later, at age 29, his heart worn out from hard drinking and the painkiller cocktails he took for his chronic spinal pain.

The overly complex *Miles*

Cheadle as Davis in Miles Ahead



Above, Hiddleston as Williams in I Saw the Light

Left, Hawke as Baker in Born to Be Blue

Ahead is the most ambitious and least successful of these pictures, yet Cheadle's Miles strikes a cosmically recognizable note. Critic Kenneth Tynan wrote that his 9-year-old daughter could identify Miles immediately from his tone: "It sounds like a little boy who's been locked out and wants to get in." We rarely think of growly, irascible Miles as being vulnerable, but like that tiny Tynan, Cheadle sees through the posturing, without sanitizing or demystifying the man.

If you closed your eyes and dreamed a dream of Chet Baker—conjuring a guy as troubled as the real man was, only not so much of an unholy jerk—he would come wafting in on a cloud, looking just like Ethan Hawke. For a sense of the real Baker, in all his toothless, selfish, wizened majesty, see Bruce Weber's extraordinary 1988 doc *Let's Get Lost*—but Hawke's performance is something different, duskily gorgeous by itself. This Baker wants to quit junk for the love of a good woman (played with gentle flintiness by Carmen Ejogo). In real life, Baker was too in thrall to the stuff to ditch it for long, least of all for a skirt. Yet Hawke makes this sweeter, gentler Baker persuasive in a schoolgirl-diary way—he's exactly what we want to believe in when we lie back in the embrace of the real Baker's trumpet sound, soft and strong as a willow's bough, or revel in his feathery crooning. (Hawke does his own singing—it's infused with a whispery urgency.) Hawke as Baker, his forehead creased with a permaworry wrinkle, is a reminder that ingrained unhappiness can sometimes spur fine-grained artistry—a thing that lasts long after even the most stunning cheekbones in the world have crumbled to dust.

> 'It was more what he wasn't doing … Miles was a lot about space, and that's something that was unique.'
>
> **DON CHEADLE**, on Miles Davis' indefinable gifts

I Saw the Light, the one true biopic here, mostly hews to the facts, assaying Williams' short, blazing career, his roving eye and his alcoholism. The movie is a snooze, but see it just for the magnificent Hiddleston, who honors Williams' greatness but also wriggles beyond it: skinny as a rake and rakish as Casanova, he reclaims Williams' vast sex appeal. He also channels, almost too well, Williams' loneliest, most sunless moments. Thrumming his guitar to "Your Cheatin' Heart," one of Williams' final songs, Hiddleston is translucent as a wraith, a man already as good as dead. If you need proof of the suffering of a man who could write lyrics like "The moon just went behind the clouds/ To hide its face and cry"—spare, like a shard of Japanese verse, and giving clear shape to an intensely private pain—it's all there in Hiddleston's haunted, haunting face. ◻

POP AND BOWIE: RICHARD MCCAFFREY—GETTY IMAGES; CHEADLE, HIDDLESTON: SONY PICTURES CLASSICS; HAWKE: IFC FILMS

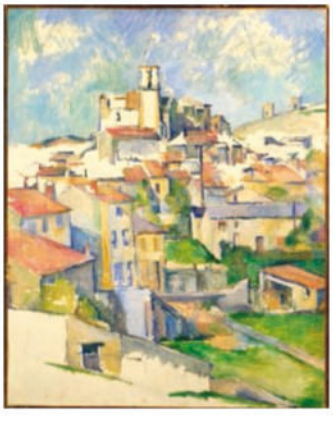
The old-master Met fills its modern satellite with works in progress

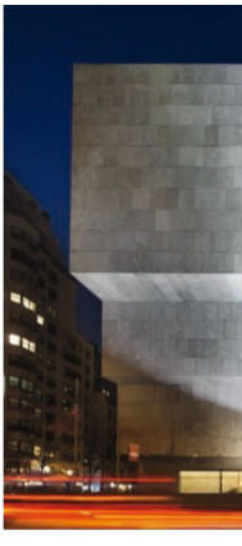
By Richard Lacayo

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART IN NEW YORK CITY IS the American Louvre, one of the world's greatest "encyclopedic" museums, the kind that have deep holdings from all periods and regions. But the Met's encyclopedia always became a bit thin when you arrived at the last volume, meaning the art of the 20th and 21st centuries, areas where its collections aren't nearly so comprehensive as they are for, say, Impressionism or Japanese screen painting. So when the Whitney Museum of American Art decided to move out of its longtime home on the Upper East Side of Manhattan and into a larger new building downtown, the Met saw a chance to operate more aggressively in the realm of "the new." It arranged to rent the old Whitney for at least eight years as a venue for its own shows of modern and contemporary art. It reopens the building on March 18 as the Met Breuer—a place the revered old dowager museum hopes to make its edgier outpost.

> Thanks to a gentle but meticulous restoration, the Met Breuer's muscular beauty is redeployed with force

The Breuer in that name is a tribute to the former Whitney's celebrated architect, Marcel Breuer, a Hungarian émigré and onetime teacher at the Bauhaus, the great laboratory of 20th century modernism. Breuer, who died in 1981, had a taste for hard-edged sculptural buildings in raw concrete. That would be one way to describe the Whitney. From the time it opened in 1966, it was plain that Breuer's irregular castle keep, with its cantilevered upper floors and trapezoidal windows, would take some getting used to—but also that it would be worth the effort. Ada Louise Huxtable, then the redoubtable architecture critic of the New York *Times,* called it "the most disliked building in New York." She went on to give it a rave review.





AFTER THE ARCHITECTURE of the past 20 years or so—all those flights of fancy from Frank Gehry and Zaha Hadid—Breuer's war wagon of a museum is no longer the curiosity it seemed half a century ago. And now, thanks to a gentle but meticulous restoration by the architecture firm Beyer Blinder Belle, the muscular beauty of the building is redeployed with force. In the lobby, the tight grid of Breuer's shallow dome ceiling lights has been restored to full register. The hammered concrete he used for some interior walls has been spruced up, the better to show how powerfully its coarse surface offsets the elegant mahogany stairway handrails. And the interior sills of those trapezoidal windows now have a crisper edge, which nicely amplifies their irregular geometry.

Maybe with time the Met can even fix Breuer's one indisputably bad idea, a below-street-level concrete enclosure

Far left, Cézanne's Gardanne, *1885–86, displays the patches of raw canvas he often left in "finished" work*

Above, for its inaugural show the Met Breuer brought together almost 200 works from across six centuries that were unfinished by conventional standards

Left, the Met Breuer occupies the former Whitney museum, designed by Marcel Breuer in a hard-edged brutalist style, with an exterior of gray granite and unpolished concrete. When it opened in 1966 it was startling. Today it's plainly beautiful

intended as a sculpture court. It's viewable through the glass wall of the museum's basement-level restaurant, but who wants a view into a barren gray tank, even if there's a merry Calder in there? As a first gesture, the Met has added a border of quaking aspens. It's a start.

THE TWO OPENING EXHIBITIONS at the Met Breuer are designed to show what the museum can do in its new home (eight blocks) away from home. One features drawings and photographs by Nasreen Mohamedi, a late 20th century Indian abstractionist little known in the West. It's a way of announcing that the Met Breuer has gotten the news that modern art isn't strictly a European-American co-production. But the other and much larger show is the kind of blockbuster old-master exhibition that has always been the Met's comfort zone. "Unfinished: Thoughts Left Visible" is a meditation across the centuries, from the Renaissance to the present, on the ways that unfinished works have shaped our notions of what painting or sculpture has to look like. Some of its 197 works were left incomplete when their creators died and some were simply abandoned in progress, but many were deliberately produced with an indifference to any notions of a final touch.

Sumptuously curated, chiefly by Kelly Baum, Andrea Bayer and Sheena Wagstaff of the Met, the show can be fascinating as it demonstrates how the fuzzy storm of Titian's late brushwork offended Renaissance expectations of high finish but opened the way to an expressive new kind of paint handling. Or how Paul Cézanne's willingness to leave flickering patches of bare canvas showed Picasso that whole stretches of a picture could be left blank, the better to intensify what's there. Yet it's also a show organized along the strictly chronological lines that museums tend to favor. More smart juxtapositions of work from different eras would have been welcome. Anyone hoping that the Met Breuer will be a place that really shakes things up, that embeds new art within its vast troves of older work, will have to keep waiting. But be patient—sometimes even the new can take a while. ◻

CÉZANNE, INSTALLATION VIEW: THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART; MET BREUER EXTERIOR: ED LEDERMAN

TELEVISION

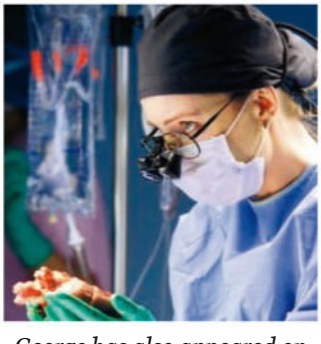
A medical soap lacks *Grey's* smarts

IT'S NOW A WORKHORSE, but when it launched, *Grey's Anatomy* was revolutionary. The soapy depiction of medical residents' personal lives informing and interfering with their work made it more than another hospital drama. Twelve seasons in, the formula is often imitated, and now Melissa George, who appeared on *Grey's,* is donning the scrubs. In NBC's *Heartbeat* (debuting March 22 and 23), she's a cardiothoracic surgeon with a perfect blowout. George's Dr. Alex Panttiere pauses her search for a donor heart to play a flirty game of basketball with her doctor beau (Dave Annable). "I'm bored. Wanna have sex?" she asks, making the common TV mistake of confusing bland frankness with wit. She's not the only one who's bored.

Heartbeat has welcome flashes of true weirdness. But the show isn't thoughtful enough to earn its insouciance. Life-and-death situations are a tricky place to try to find sassy edge.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

HEARTBEAT *airs Wednesdays at 8 p.m. E.T. on NBC*



George has also appeared on The Good Wife *and* Alias

Ephron in the 1960s; she went on to write Silkwood *and* When Harry Met Sally

TELEVISION

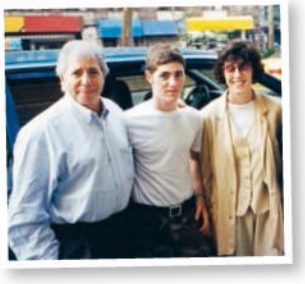
Nora Ephron's son: Moms say the most embarrassing things

THE DEATH OF NORA EPHRON IN 2012, AT AGE 71, FOLLOWing complications from leukemia, was a shock for reasons beyond her not-so-very-advanced age. The writer and director—known for confessional essays including "I Feel Bad About My Neck" and movies including *Sleepless in Seattle* and *You've Got Mail*—wasn't known, even among intimates, to be ill. To the end, she was productive and endlessly sociable.

What keeps a person dedicated to turning her life into text—so much so that she adapted her divorce from Washington *Post* Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein into a novel and then a Meryl Streep movie—from disclosing such seismic news? This is the question underpinning *Everything Is Copy,* a documentary directed by Ephron's son Jacob Bernstein, which debuts March 21 on HBO. Bernstein's life seems to have been defined by his famous mom; charismatic and endlessly creative, she cast a long shadow. What's more, that Streep movie, *Heartburn,* depicts events from his childhood, ones that complicated Bernstein's relationship with his father for years.

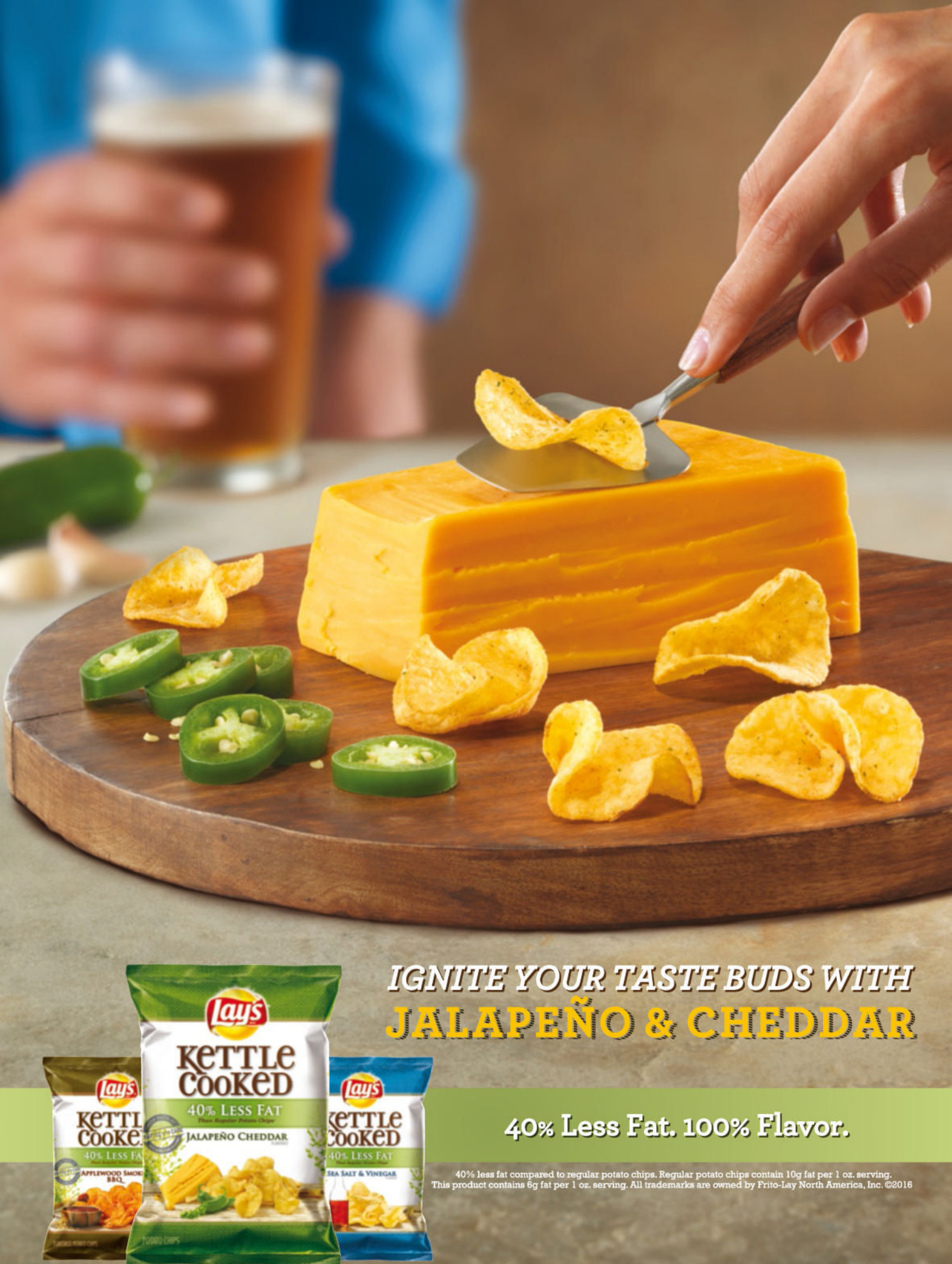
Bernstein's probing look at the life and legacy of his mother is unstinting with such observations. The Ephron we meet is similar to the woman we knew from talk-show appearances: charming, ambitious and sharp. But through interviews with friends, family and even Carl Bernstein, *Everything Is Copy* makes a case that Ephron was a complicated woman whose passion for control lasted to the end.

It's no hatchet job, though. Telling the story through his own perspective, and doing so in a medium that's new to him, is Bernstein's way of showing that after all, he's his mother's son. —D.D.



FAMILY VALUES
Newly minted director Jacob Bernstein, center, is, like his famous parents, a journalist; he writes for the Style section of the New York *Times*

HEARTBEAT: NBC; EPHRON: HBO (2)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TIME PICKS

TELEVISION
From *Scandal* and *Grey's Anatomy* creator Shonda Rhimes comes ***The Catch*** (March 24), a new series about a private investigator seeking revenge on her fiancé, who conned her out of millions and fled.

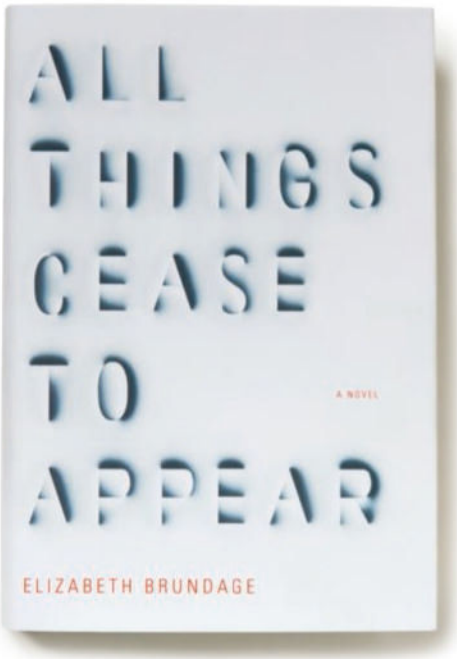
MOVIES
Michael Shannon and Kirsten Dunst star in ***Midnight Special*** (March 18), a sci-fi drama about a boy with special powers who goes on the run, along with his father, to evade capture.

BOOKS
Cynthia d'Aprix Sweeney's debut novel, ***The Nest*** (March 25), convenes four dysfunctional siblings counting on a long-awaited inheritance to solve an array of problems.

MUSIC
On his first solo album, *Mind of Mine* (March 22), former One Direction member **Zayn Malik** releases songs that brewed during his time in the band, inflected with hints of Bollywood and reggae.

BOOKS

Marriage and murder on a dairy farm



SERIAL THRILLER
Brundage's previous novels are The Doctor's Wife *(2004),* Somebody Else's Daughter *(2008) and* A Stranger Like You *(2010)*

ELIZABETH BRUNDAGE'S exquisitely gut-churning new novel begins with a familiar scenario: a woman is found dead in her home (in this case, with an ax in her head), and her husband is the primary suspect.

Flash back one year: The Hale house in upstate New York has a history—some might even call it a curse. Its owners are dairy farmers who fall on hard times in the changing economy of the 1970s; with financial ruin looming, the abusive, philandering husband persuades his wife to commit a double suicide, leaving their three sons behind to fend for themselves.

George Clare, an art-history professor at a local college and a bad husband himself, buys the house when it's in foreclosure. The price is right for his relocation from New York City with his wife Catherine, an artist turned homemaker, and their daughter, 3 years old when her mother dies. Which is when *All Things Cease to Appear* begins.

Brundage's elegant exploration of motive—in all its directions—sets this book apart from a genre thriller. She embraces the spiritual to add spook: George is an atheist and an expert on the Hudson River School painter George Inness, who was influenced by the 18th century Christian mystic Emanuel Swedenborg. Catherine used to restore religious paintings in Manhattan churches and is a reverent Catholic—a point of contention for the couple and part of the reason they married when she got pregnant.

Paranormal activity hangs in the atmosphere. Before Catherine's death she has some mystical encounters; strange sensations around the house make her think it's haunted. When she finds the former owner's wedding ring, last seen inside Mrs. Hale's casket, the reader is likely to agree.

As we get to know the Clare family's neighbors, friends and colleagues, we watch George's interactions with them grow increasingly sadistic. Brundage takes us compellingly inside the perverse machinations of a violently narcissistic mind. Murderer or not, he is a master manipulator with a sick brilliance that recalls Patricia Highsmith's talented Mr. Ripley.

> 'Even in gentle summer … an oppressive gloom prevailed, as if the whole house had been covered, like a birdcage, with velvet cloth.'
>
> —FROM *ALL THINGS CEASE TO APPEAR*

Chapters begin vaguely, in obtuse situations that mislead the reader, only to resolve with clarity—as does the book. In the end, some of the characters' resolutions are too tidy. And between the violence, ghostliness and '70s counterculture, the elements of intrigue may tally one too many. Brundage's language is the real draw, with her vivid portraits of spouses on opposite sides of a brutal abyss. As Catherine turns away from a threatening husband, her interior life grows richer in seclusion. God, not George, is her confidant, Brundage writes. "In His eyes, she was her true self, nothing more, nothing less. She was the person George would never see."

—SARAH BEGLEY

MIDNIGHT SPECIAL: WARNER BROS.; MALIK: GETTY IMAGES

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Famed pastry chef François Payard unveiled his latest creation: the **"macaronut," a hybrid *macaron*-doughnut.**

According to director Garry Marshall, Anne Hathaway is **open to making *Princess Diaries 3*.**

President Obama helped *Hamilton* star Lin-Manuel Miranda **perform a freestyle rap in the Rose Garden.**

Ariana Grande **delivered a pitch-perfect Jennifer Lawrence impression** while hosting *SNL*.

Taco Bell is launching a **$1 breakfast menu** in an effort to compete with McDonald's.

Mariah Carey will **star in her own reality series,** which will focus on her current tour and upcoming wedding.

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

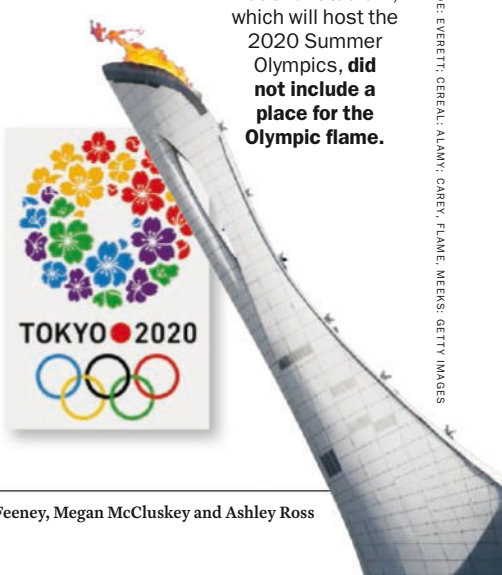
***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

A newly viral video (shot in 2014) shows a man **urinating on Rice Krispies products in a Kellogg's assembly line.** The cereal company said it was "outraged" at the employee's behavior and had alerted authorities.

Some Instagram users are upset over an app change that will order posts based on an "optimizing" algorithm instead of chronologically.

Jeremy Meeks, whose 2015 arrest and mug shot earned him the nickname Hot Mug-Shot Guy, successfully **parlayed his prison stint into a modeling contract.**

Initial designs for Japan's new National Stadium, which will host the 2020 Summer Olympics, **did not include a place for the Olympic flame.**



Moonie the Chihuahua, best known for playing Bruiser in the hit film *Legally Blonde,* **died at the age of 18.**

'The rumors of my death have been greatly exaggerated.'

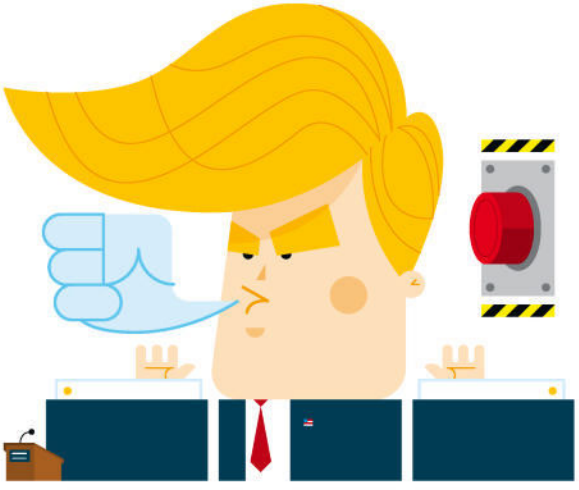
Game of Thrones author George R.R. Martin had to clarify he was still alive after **fans misinterpreted news** about the death of Beatles producer George Martin.

By Nolan Feeney, Megan McCluskey and Ashley Ross

GRANDE: NBC; HATHAWAY: PHOTOFEST; TACO BELL; OBAMA AND MIRANDA: TWITTER; INSTAGRAM; OLYMPIC LOGO: OLYMPICS; LEGALLY BLONDE: EVERETT; CEREAL: ALAMY; CAREY; FLAME; MEEKS: GETTY IMAGES

In which I discover that when short-fingered vulgarians win, satire loses

By Joel Stein



BEING A SATIRIST IS AN ENORMOUS RESPONSIBILITY. First you have to pretend to know the difference between satire, parody and irony. You also have to spend time trying to prove that you attack liberals just as much as conservatives even though you know you really don't. Also, you have to make sure people don't miss your sarcasm, lest they think you mean the opposite of what you did. Though that might be an ironist.

Still, I believed that writing satire was worth all that, because it was a noble pursuit. Not as noble as actually doing something, but in comparison to all the other things you can do alone at a computer in the middle of the night while drinking—pretty noble. Now, though, I wonder. *Spy*, the humor magazine I worshipped as a teenager, targeted Donald Trump incessantly in the '80s and '90s: sending him 13¢ checks to see if he'd cash them, which he did; putting him on the cover as a baby with the headline "Wa-a-a-a-h! Little Donald—Unhappy at Last"; Photoshopping him both as a bearded hobo and as a man wearing only a barrel in an article documenting his business losses; and constantly calling him "the short-fingered vulgarian." Sure, three decades later, that nickname led to a presidential debate in which one of the topics was a candidate's penis size, which is a pretty amazing joke payoff. But otherwise *Spy* lost spectacularly, sputtering to its death at the age of 12 in 1998, five years after the founders had already given up. Trump, meanwhile, is the leading Republican presidential candidate, the most discussed human on the planet and seemingly the only thing Mitt Romney has ever worried about.

"WE TRIED TO KILL BABY HITLER, and we failed," Spy co-founder Kurt Andersen admitted to me. "I think, What role did I have in this? We didn't create him. But *Spy* served as an early sparring partner. He got used to bad press and ridicule in a way that the Ted Cruzes are new to. I may have to pay the price for that when I get to heaven's gate." I don't think Andersen has to worry, since, from what I've gathered of his feud with the Pope, President Trump is going to get rid of heaven, which is for cheek-turning losers.

I hadn't even considered that satire can do harm. Though even that seems to overstate its power. The only effect Jonathan Swift's *Modest Proposal* had was making high school students read it. In Jon Stewart's penultimate *Daily Show,* he noted that all his enemies—Fox News, ISIS, big banks, racism—were stronger than before he took them on. Then he picked up a skull, to which he soliloquized, "Hath my efforts all been for naught? As I shuffle off this basic cable coil, must I discover my years of evisceration have embettered nothing? Sixteen years of barbs and jeers spurred none to greatness." Though ironically, after that parody, everyone realized that Shakespeare sucks.

Andersen told me he never thought that satire had much effect. "It's a way to bring attention in the all-entertainment-all-the-time world we live in to people who wouldn't otherwise see it. Plus, it feels good for those of us who do it," he said. "If nothing else, people enjoy it because nobody can buy their way out of negative attention." Satire is the opiate of the masses. Even though opiates have actually become the opiate of the masses.

BRICKBATS AND BARBS, no matter how alliterative, cannot prevent the election of a thin-skinned, short-fingered man who will press the nuclear button just to prove that he's physically capable of it. But as I was saying goodbye, Andersen suddenly perked up. "If Trump were elected President, then I think the satire would have an actual effect of preventing him from governing. Once he failed to do things instead of just saying 'I'll build a wall' and 'I'll bomb them back to the Stone Age,' it would make his life unlike any other President's. Gerald Ford was falsely accused of being clumsy, and that destroyed him." Whether it was clever mocking of his tripping or the stagflation or pardoning of Nixon that did Ford in, we'll never know.

But as desperate as Andersen sounded, I wanted to believe what he said, since all my other job ideas involve doing public relations for Snapchat, which probably involves learning how to use Snapchat. I can argue that I have done as much to damage Trump's campaign with my eviscerating tweets (he is not likely to type "payed" again soon after I called him out on his misspelling) as Jeb Bush, Lindsey Graham or Rand Paul. And at the protest that shut down Trump's speech in Chicago, I saw a photo of a bearded man holding a sign that said, SHORT FINGERED VULGARIAN. Every protester, it turns out, needs a sign. And it might as well be funny. □

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Shirin Ebadi The Iranian human-rights lawyer and her loved ones have been harassed by their country's government since she won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003

Why do you say in your new memoir, *Until We Are Free*, that the story of Iran is the story of your life? Because my life story depicts what kind of government Iran has and how it treats people. I am not political competition for anyone. I'm just an attorney. And you can see how the government has harassed me. This is the way that they treat a Nobel Peace Prize winner who has access to microphones all over the world. Just imagine how they would treat a young journalist or unknown student who is arrested.

Were there some downsides to winning the Nobel? The Nobel Peace Prize does not have a downside. But the government of Iran looked at it with suspicion. They raided my law office and my NGOs, and they closed them down. They confiscated all of my property, closed down my bank account, arrested my colleagues, who are in prison now. And the result is that I am living in exile.

Your husband was lured into a sexual encounter, filmed, imprisoned, beaten and told to denounce you on TV or face being stoned. Was that your lowest point? No. This has happened to many other people, including some of my clients. I always encouraged my clients to talk about it, but it is a taboo in Iran to talk about such issues.

What did your husband say when you saw each other after four years? He said my work was ruining our family life. And it was not going to result in bringing democracy to Iran, so how long did I want to continue doing it? My response was that this is the path I have chosen and I'm not going back.

Your sister was also imprisoned because of her connection to you. Has that put a strain on that relationship? It has actually brought us closer. Because I empathized with her, and she found out what I have undergone too.

What has been the hardest part of doing this work? The worst thing that I have suffered is the day that they closed down my NGO and arrested my colleagues. Some of them are still in prison.

Why don't you like the phrase *Arab Spring*? The rising of the people in Arab countries did not bring democracy to those countries. Spring is a season of eruption of the light coming, and there's everything new and good about it. None of that happened. I prefer *the suppressed rising of the people.*

Do you expect to go home now that reformists are politically ascendant? Nothing has changed. The President has very limited power. All the power rests with the Supreme Leader, who is there for life. [President Hassan] Rouhani is like Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, except he's a little better-looking and he smiles more.

What's the worst thing about living in exile? When my dear colleagues pass away, I cannot participate.

Would you encourage your daughters to take the same path that you've taken? My younger daughter has a Ph.D. in human rights, and this is the path that she has taken.

Do you support the lifting of sanctions on Iran? Yes, because we can only sanction and harm the people. By placing sanctions against the government we can neither topple the government nor change its behavior. The best example of it would be North Korea. That government is still there, while the people are getting poorer every day.

Do you have any regrets? Never.

No guilt for how family and friends have suffered? I don't feel guilt, but I've become very saddened. It's the government of Iran that has to feel the guilt. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

Translated from Farsi by Shirin Ershadi

'He said my work was ruining our family life. My response was that this is the path I have chosen and I'm not going back.'

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